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THE LWF AS AN
ECCLESIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

PETER BRUNNER

COMMENTS ON BRUNNER'S ESSAY

CONCLUDING REMARKS

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ON THE DISCUSSION OF
THE NATURE OF THE LWF

KURT SCHMIDT-CLAUSEN

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BISHOP ANDERS NYGREN

The Lutheran World Federation as an Ecclesiological Problem

PETER BRUNNER

IF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION is measured by its doctrinal basis (Const., Art. II), it becomes an ecclesiological problem. If we start with this doctrinal basis, the question arises whether there can or should be such a thing as "a free association of Lutheran churches," which the Lutheran World Federation proclaims itself to be according to its constitution (Art. III, 1). How does what the Lutheran World Federation is according to its constitution comport with the doctrine of the church as it is stated in the confessions of the Lutheran church, especially the Augsburg Confession? This question points up the ecclesiological problem of the Lutheran World Federation. This problem, however, also becomes apparent when the Federation acts. The World Federation has aims, purposes and tasks which it desires to accomplish through its work as a world federation (Const., III, 2). It is also empowered to take action as the representative of the member church in matters which are committed to it by the member churches (Const., III, 1 and 3). Here the question arises of how this action accords fundamentally with the nature of the World Federation laid down in the constitution. But the same question arises also with respect to the limitations which the World Federation imposes upon itself in its actions with regard to its member churches.

I Introductory Considerations

The problem that emerges here is not new. In many respects it is a legacy of the historical development preceding the formation of the World Federation. I recall to mind the address made by Dr. Jørgensen of Denmark at the Second Lutheran World Convention in Copenhagen, 1929, on the theme: "What can be done to further closer relations between the Lutheran churches?" This address anticipated many of the aspects of the ecclesiological problem of the future World Federation. Dr. Jørgensen spoke of a world-wide Lutheran church in which he saw various groups developing under different linguistic, geographical, and national conditions. In order to coordinate them he called for, among other things, an international Lutheran faculty which would at the same time function as a supreme advisory body for the one Lutheran world church. His main thesis was stated as follows: "The Lutheran church in 1929 is... not a collection of stones which we are now trying to bring together in a mosaic. The modern Lutheran church—in so far as its members are faithful to the confessions

—is a *unity*. It is *one church*.” (Cf. Siegfried Grundmann, *Der Lutherische Weltbund*, Böhlau-Verlag, Köln, Graz, 1957, pp. 348f.).

I mention further the important message and the significant recommendations published by the executive committee of the World Convention at its 1936 session in New York. The second part of this document deals with the relation of the Lutheran churches to each other. It calls for the further development of the inner unity which already exists between the Lutheran churches into world-wide Lutheran solidarity. As a means to this end it recommends the formation of an entente or alliance of all the Lutheran churches of the world. The creation of a super-church is rejected. And yet it is claimed that the effect of this Lutheran world solidarity must necessarily be that the Lutheran churches of the world would make a clear confession of the truth of the Gospel, which would also influence the mutual relationships of these churches (cf. Grundmann, p. 357).

The ecclesiological problem indicated in this brief retrospect was not overcome by the constitution of the World Federation. On the contrary, this constitution repeatedly brings the problem to the fore because in a sense it is embodied in it.

Therefore, if we wish to set forth this ecclesiological problem, we shall have to expound and interpret the constitution of the World Federation. This interpretation must be determined by the doctrine of the church which is stated in the Lutheran confessions. But this interpretation must also keep in view the concrete action of the World Federation and the limitations or omissions in its actions.

The purpose of such a demonstration of the problem is not merely to deal with the problem for its own sake, but to overcome it. The ecclesiological problem which the World Federation presents cannot be discussed dogmatically without at the same time stating what it ought to be. For every dogmatic discussion is normative. But when we say what really ought to be in the course of setting forth the problem, whether we wish or not, we are laying down directions for the future development and structure not only of the World Federation but also the mutual relationships of its member churches. The solution of an ecclesiological problem necessarily has its implications for the formation of church law.

To accomplish the proposed task it is necessary to state as precisely as possible *who* the Lutheran World Federation actually is in concrete terms. The World Federation is a legal corporation. The members of the World Federation are Lutheran churches, the member churches. Each member church elects representatives. These representatives are naturally members of their churches. The Assembly is a convention of those representatives and the member churches are therefore represented in the Assembly. In the Assembly the member churches act through their representatives. The Assembly is the *determinative* organ of the World Federation. Directly or indirectly all the other organs are dependent upon it. If we ask *who* the Lutheran World Federation is in concrete reality,

we must say that it is the representatives of the member churches gathered in the Assembly. When the Assembly is not in session, the World Federation acts through the president, the executive committee, and the executive secretary and his secretariat.

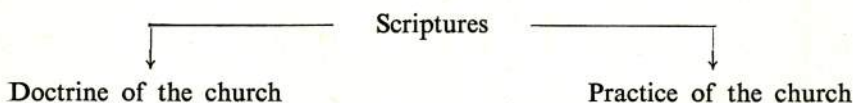
There can be no question that the organization of the World Federation is a faithful representation of a democratically organized synodical system. Nowhere is there any indication of a difference (*Gegenüber*) between clergy and laymen. The relation between the executive committee and the Assembly is also not a relationship of two independent organs. Constitutionally, the executive committee is not a directive organ, but rather only an executive organ which is bound in the formation of its own mind to the decisions of the Assembly, which—we must remember—as a rule meets only every five years for a period of from ten to fourteen days and which, moreover, is sometimes subject to considerable change in its personnel. There are ecclesiological problems here which I shall not deal with in this discussion, but which will have to be dealt with sooner or later. In the present connection the only important observation is that the Assembly with the president and the executive committee is comparable to a synodical representation of the member churches. In its formal organizational structure (not in its powers!), the Assembly is a synod, the synod of the churches which are joined together in the World Federation. This synod, together with the organs which are directly or indirectly set up by it, is the World Federation *in concreto*.

II The Doctrinal Basis of the World Federation

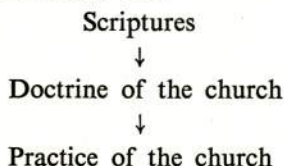
The World Federation has a doctrinal basis (Const., Art. II). It has this doctrinal basis only in the sense that it performs two acts: 1) the act of a definite recognition of the Holy Scriptures and 2) the act of a definite judgment with regard to the confessions of the Lutheran church, especially the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism. This means that no church which does not perform these two acts can become a member of the Assembly. This implies that the member churches which send representatives to the Assembly also perform these two acts. And finally it follows from the performance of these two acts that the Assembly and the agencies which it sets up directly or indirectly are bound to the doctrinal basis of the World Federation for whatever they teach and do. By the intent of its doctrinal basis the World Federation is clearly bound to be confessional. In its doctrinal basis it has a spiritual norm by which all its actions are to be measured. At this point a number of ecclesiological problems arise. They fall into two groups: a) problems which relate to the formulation of the doctrinal basis itself and b) problems which are connected with the administration and the practical implications of this doctrinal basis.

a) Problems relating to the formulation of the doctrinal basis

Here the first question that arises is in what sense the Holy Scriptures can be the only source and the infallible norm of all church *practice*. The Formula of Concord, as is well known, claims that the Holy Scriptures are the normative authority for all *doctrines* and *teachers* of the church. To be sure, the *doctrine* of the church, for which Holy Scripture is the sole source and norm, also affects the *practice* of the church and its members. On the basis of the Holy Scriptures, the church also teaches concerning the right practice of the church and its members. But the doctrinal basis of the World Federation recognizes the Holy Scriptures, not only as the sole source and infallible norm for everything that the church teaches concerning the practice of the church, but also claims that Holy Scripture is a direct source and norm of the practice itself. Here the question arises whether this is fundamentally possible. If the Scriptures are applied literally as a norm for the practice of the church, the consequence may be a biblicistic legalism which is contrary to the nature of the church in the new covenant. If the Holy Scriptures are recognized *literally* as the norm for the practice of the church, then, for example, in an assembly of the *ecclesia*, which the Assembly undoubtedly is, women would not be permitted to speak. If the Holy Scriptures are recognized as the literal norm for the practice of the church, then the question whether women may be ordained is not a question at all, for then it has already been decided in the negative. In the clause, "the only source and the infallible norm of all church doctrine *and* practice," the little word "and" urgently requires an authoritative interpretation. Under no circumstances dare the word "and" be interpreted in accord with the following diagram:



The diagram must rather look like this:



If we interpret the word "and" according to this second diagram, the words "and practice" in the doctrinal basis really become superfluous. Nevertheless, they perform an important function. They point out that the church is also determined in her practice by the doctrine that derives from the Scriptures. The church can violate its confessional commitment through its practice. It requires very careful consideration to find the boundary line in the practice of a church at which it violates its confessional commitment through its practice. Also with respect to the practice of the World Federation we must be constantly

aware that this boundary line exists, but that in individual cases it will not be easy to say just where it lies. The words "and practice" in the doctrinal basis should not be stricken, but we ought to strive for an authoritative interpretation of these words. If possible, the Assembly itself should clarify the question to what extent the Holy Scriptures can be in principle the sole source and infallible norm for all the practice of the church.

The second point in the wording of the doctrinal basis itself which requires discussion relates to the fact that there is no special mention of the ancient creeds. Unquestionably these symbols are a part of the confessions of the Lutheran church. They are therefore indirectly contained in the doctrinal basis. But since they are not mentioned by name they appear to be put on the same level with the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord. Is this arrangement and this "namelessness" in accord with the Lutheran Reformation? Of course, it can be said that the doctrinal content of the ancient symbols recurs in the Augsburg Confession and in Luther's Catechism. But do not the ancient symbols deserve to be mentioned by name and particularly in the context of the intent of the Lutheran Reformation? Especially when we consider the ecumenical task of the World Federation (Const., Art. III, 2, d), it should be clearly discernible to everyone that the churches joined together in the World Federation *explicitly* accept the ancient symbols. Therefore it appears to me that a change in the wording of the constitution is required here. The second sentence of Article II of the constitution should therefore begin something like this: "It (the Lutheran World Federation) confesses the three ancient church symbols and sees in..."

The third point relates to the specific emphasis upon the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism within the totality of the Lutheran confessions. This emphasis is in my opinion correct and is properly based upon the interrelation of the documents in the Book of Concord. The external occasion for the specific mention of the Augsburg Confession and the Catechism in the constitution of the World Federation was undoubtedly the difference that obtains with respect to the legal validity of certain Lutheran confessions among the member churches. In the doctrinal basis this diversity is subjected to an important, ecclesiological significant interpretation. A church in which the Formula of Concord is not a part of its doctrinal basis but which belongs to the World Federation cannot justify the fact that this doctrinal statement is not a part of its confessional position by saying that the Formula of Concord is not a pure exposition of the Word of God. In accepting the doctrinal basis of the World Federation all the churches that join the World Federation recognize *all* the Lutheran confessions as pure expositions of the Word of God, even though they may not have officially and explicitly accepted certain Lutheran confessions. On the other hand, those Lutheran churches in the World Federation in which the entire Book of Concord is accepted as their doctrinal basis are declaring by this emphasis upon the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism that the Lutheran confessions

are in fact not all on the same level, but that they stand in different relationships to each other. In particular, these churches are declaring by this emphasis that such churches which have not explicitly received all the confessions of the Book of Concord as their doctrinal basis are nevertheless churches of the Lutheran confession, provided that they do not deny that the confessions which they have not received are pure expositions of the Word of God. The ecclesiological significance of the second clause of Article II of the constitution therefore lies in the fact that implicitly it makes an important doctrinal decision which may be stated as follows: The constitutional (*kirchenrechtlichen*) differences that exist in the confessional basis of Lutheran churches are not differences that must separate the churches, granting that in each case the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism are explicitly received and the rest of the Lutheran confessions are not denied the character of being pure expositions of the Word of God.

Finally, reference should be made to two matters which are not sufficiently clarified in the wording of Article II, but which may nevertheless be significant. First, we should ask what is meant by Luther's Catechism. In the confessional resolution of the First Lutheran World Convention in Eisenach, 1923, which is the original source of Article II, it was Luther's Small Catechism that was mentioned. When the word "Small" dropped out in the statement at Lund, 1947, we are assured by those who are familiar with the circumstances attending the formation of the constitution that there was no intention to make any change in the substance of the Eisenach Resolution of 1923 (so also Grundmann, pp. 367ff.). Nevertheless, one could raise the question whether the omission of the word "Small" was not providential in character. Disregarding the intention of the framers and holding solely to the present wording of the doctrinal basis, the omission of the word "Small" in fact includes the Large Catechism in the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation. For the Small and the Large Catechism together do in fact constitute *the* Catechism of Luther. Objectively speaking, it would be better to include the Large Catechism in the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation. In any case, the Assembly should clarify the question whether in future the World Federation understands Luther's Catechism to mean only the Small Catechism or the Small *and* the Large Catechism. In a doctrinal basis the wording should be as unambiguous as possible.

The second matter is more serious. According to the English text, the confessions of the Lutheran church are regarded as "a pure exposition of the Word of God." In the German text the indefinite article "*eine*" is lacking, but the definite article "*die*" is also lacking. The confessions of the Lutheran church are regarded as "pure exposition of the Word of God" without any article (*unverfälschte Auslegung des Wortes Gottes*). This difference originated in the above-mentioned Eisenach confessional resolution in which the difference between the English and the German text is obvious. There the English text reads, as in Article II of the World Federation constitution, "a pure exposition"; the German text

reads "the rendition of the Word of God" (*die lautere Wiedergabe des Wortes Gottes*). The German text of Article II of the World Federation constitution undoubtedly departed from the German text of the Eisenach formulation and approached closer to the English version, even though it still maintains a certain distance from it by avoiding the indefinite article "*eine*". Behind these differences in the text there lies a fundamental problem. The following thesis is obviously *no longer* compatible with the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation: "The confessions are settled and complete for all time; they are, as they came from the sixteenth century, for all future time in Christendom the sole, pure exposition of the Word of God that exists in the form and with the function of a confession." In any case, the doctrinal basis of the World Federation in its present German and English versions is open to the possibility that a church may have confessions which are not the confessions of the Lutheran church which arose in the sixteenth century but which nevertheless measured by these confessions of the sixteenth century, are *likewise* pure expositions of the Word of God in the form and with the function of a confession.

These questions have become immediate in view of the development in the younger churches. According to the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation the following case is altogether conceivable. Say that a church which has arisen on the mission field has adopted a confession that accords with its situation. The Lutheran confessions of the sixteenth century are not an official part of the confessional position of this church. However, the content of the new confession which it has adopted is in accord with the Lutheran confessions of the sixteenth century. The Trinity, the true divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ, original sin, justification by faith alone, the indubitable presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ under the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and other central elements of the Gospel are clearly expressed in this "new" confession. Such a church would have to be recognized as being an evangelical Lutheran church. For it is not the Lutheran confessions of the sixteenth century as such which are the marks of the true church, but rather the pure preaching of the apostolic gospel and the administration of the sacraments in accord with their institution. According to the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation, the right teaching concerning the content of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments need not necessarily be expressed in the words of the confessions of the sixteenth century. It is conceivable that another wording may perform the same function. But this different wording, that is, the "new" confession, must be in accord, so far as its content is concerned, with the "old" confessions of the Lutheran church, if the apostolic gospel and the administration of the sacraments in accord with their institution is to be validly proclaimed. Granting these conditions, there would be no dogmatic reasons to prevent the reception of such a church with a "new" confession into the Lutheran World Federation.

On the other hand, the entrance of such a young church into the Lutheran World Federation would entail some important consequences. Such a church,

were it to become a member of the World Federation and thus accept its doctrinal basis, would necessarily enter into the historical context in which the old Lutheran churches stand. The pastors and teachers of such a young church would therefore have to know the sixteenth century confessions of the Lutheran church to be capable of judging them intellectually and theologically, and, as pastors and teachers in a member church of the World Federation, they would also be obliged to recognize these confessions, especially the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism as "pure exposition of the Word of God." Both of these inferences—openness to the possibility of genuine, new confessions which are in accord with Scripture and the continuing validity of the sixteenth century confessions—can be and indeed must be drawn from the formulation of the doctrinal basis in Article II.

On the other hand, we must certainly reject the view which may be stated as follows: "The fact that the confessions of the Lutheran church are explicitly viewed as only *one* and not *the* pure exposition of the Word of God opens the way to a dogmatic relativism which so waters down the doctrinal differences between the confessional churches that the confessions of the Reformed church or perhaps even the texts collected in Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* could *also* be regarded as *a* pure exposition of the Word of God along with the confessions of the Lutheran church." In such a concept the word "pure" would lose all of its meaning. Two confessional texts which contradict each other on essential questions cannot both be regarded as *pure* expositions of the Word of God.

These considerations may indicate that an authoritative commentary on Article II of the constitution which would have to have the approval of the Assembly is urgently needed.

b) Problems relating to the administration and the practical implications of the doctrinal basis

In the first place, it is understood that the World Federation itself (that is, the Assembly and the agencies which are directly or indirectly dependent upon it) must be in accord with its doctrinal basis in its doctrine and practice. And here it is important to observe that actual "teaching" goes on in the World Federation, and here the word "teaching" is to be understood in the sense of the New Testament and the Lutheran confessions, and thus, for example, includes concrete preaching. When the members of an Assembly meet for a service of worship and if the Word of God is purely preached in this service, this *is* teaching. True, the preacher who preaches at the service remains under the visitatorial supervision of his church authority. The teaching church which appears here is therefore primarily the member church to which this preacher belongs. But in the service of worship at the Assembly in which he is now preaching those who come together there are themselves "EKKLESIA" through the preached

Word. The Assembly itself becomes in this service of worship a church in which God's Word is proclaimed and thus "taught."

When an Assembly like that held at Hannover issues a message, this act certainly falls under the category of teaching. There can be no question that the Assembly at Minneapolis was teaching when it elaborated and accepted theses and transmitted them to the member churches. Certainly these theses are not *ex cathedra* decisions or a new confession, but they do contain "doctrine" and they constitute an exercise of teaching. Thus there can be no question that the World Federation as such not only has a doctrinal basis, but also actually teaches.

Moreover, the aims and purposes of the Lutheran World Federation show that, if it actually pursues these aims and purposes, it must necessarily teach. It is impossible to bear united witness before the world to the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Art. III, 2, a) without at the same time teaching. Such witness is *doctrine* in the precise sense of the New Testament and the confessions. Again the most important means of cultivating unity of faith and confession among the Lutheran churches of the world (Art. III, 2, b) may well be teaching, perhaps in the way that was done by the World Federation through the handling of the Minneapolis theses. How else can the World Federation "develop a united Lutheran approach to responsibilities in missions and education" (Art. III, 2, e) without a common doctrine and without actually teaching in common? The World Federation *in concreto* cannot carry out its tasks at all, it cannot conduct a single assembly without teaching as a Federation. Thus it carries out the one absolutely central commission of the church of Christ. When it teaches it is undoubtedly acting as a church.

It goes without saying that when the World Federation teaches it submits what it teaches absolutely to the norms recognized in the doctrinal basis. The same applies to the practice of the World Federation in so far as an action is itself determined by doctrine.

Here a difficult problem emerges. Who decides whether the World Federation is actually in accord with its doctrinal basis in its teaching and practice? Obviously it is expected of each member church that it will judge critically what the World Federation says and does by its doctrinal basis and thus by the Holy Scripture itself. Only the member churches can exercise the visitatorial office with respect to the World Federation. But it *must* be exercised by them! If the World Federation were actually to violate its doctrinal basis in what it says and does and refused to listen to those member churches which admonished and reproved it then these member churches would ultimately have to exercise their discipline by leaving the World Federation. Likewise, the fact that a number of Lutheran churches do not see themselves in the position to join the World Federation as member churches, because in their conviction it violates its doctrinal basis by its composition, by the character of some of its member churches, and by its own practice, must be taken seriously by the World Federation and gives it

continuing provocation to re-examine itself critically in the light of its doctrinal basis.

The preceding considerations make it apparent that the World Federation is subject to an ecclesiological problem with respect to the administration and the application of its doctrinal basis which is undoubtedly felt by all the member churches. The problem becomes apparent in the following question: What does the fact that the Scriptures and the confessions are recognized as critical standards for all the church's teaching and practice mean in the concrete life of the Church? It is clear that a merely formal recognition of these norms is a violation of the intent of these norms and the intent of their recognition. These norms are intended to be operative in the life of the church and by reason of their recognition they should and must be operative. Among the Lutheran churches there is no uniform answer to the question of how these norms are to become operative *in concreto*. What is doctrinal discipline? In which cases must it be applied? What is practice contrary to the confessions? What does "acceptance" (*Geltung*) of the Scriptures and the confessions mean in the life of the church?

No Lutheran church can evade the distress that is inherent in such questions. Can the World Federation? It appears that it is able to keep away from these questions and the distress which they cause the churches. According to its present constitution it is in fact not in a position to exercise visitatorial supervision over its member churches or to set in motion an agency which would investigate the degree to which the doctrinal basis of the World Federation is adhered to in individual member churches. To be sure, when a church is received the World Federation must undertake an examination of its confessional position. When it does so it cannot apply a standard that is any more strict than that which is applied, for example, by the German or Scandinavian Lutheran Churches in their own jurisdiction. But it cannot confine itself to a merely formal, constitutional examination. Supposing that a Lutheran church were to state in its constitution that members of a certain race (say white or Semitic or colored) would not be admitted to the Lord's Supper or could not become members of this church because they belonged to this race, this would clearly constitute a grave violation of its confessional obligation, even though this church were able to show that constitutionally its position was clearly Lutheran in confession. If such a church were to seek admission to the Lutheran World Federation, it would have to be refused: it would not be qualified for membership. If one of the member churches were to develop into such a church, the World Federation would have to find that it had broken its doctrinal basis and therefore could no longer claim membership. The possibility of such a procedure against a member church has already been anticipated in a letter of the executive secretary to President Dr. Stolz in Australia in 1953 (AELKZ, 1953, p. 332): "If in the course of time a member church departs from our doctrinal basis, it is expected of that church that it will itself acknowledge this as a breaking of the fellowship and

draw the consequences. If it does not do this, the Assembly would have to take steps to carry out the separation."

Here we have a recognition of the principle that by granting or refusing membership the World Federation decides whether the doctrinal basis of the World Federation is actually operative in the church in question. At the same time it may have become clear that the establishment of whether this doctrinal basis is actually operative in a Lutheran church cannot be confined to determining whether it is formally and legally present or not, but must also investigate the question of whether there are actual facts in the situation which are clearly tantamount to a factual exclusion of the operation of this doctrinal basis.

I shall illustrate the problem by reference to two actual examples. The Evangelical Church of Pomerania is a member of the World Federation. Within its present boundaries all the congregations in this church hold to the Lutheran confession. All of the ministers of this church are also bound to the Lutheran confession. But this church is at the same time a member church of the Evangelical Church of the Union. This means that it stands in church fellowship with all the member churches of the Evangelical Church of the Union, including those in which there are Reformed congregations. By having accepted the Evangelical Church of Pomerania as a member church, the World Federation has decided that the Church of Pomerania can recognize the doctrinal basis of the World Federation and still remain in church fellowship with Union churches. It has therewith decided that church fellowship with Union churches does not annul the fact of recognition of the doctrinal basis of the World Federation. By the simple fact of receiving this church the World Federation made this undoubtedly far-reaching decision. This decision of the World Federation can be impugned and, indeed, it has been impugned. Has not the World Federation, by making this decision, itself violated its doctrinal basis? It may not be easy to answer this question. But it must be answered! True, the World Federation as such can and must say with respect to the Evangelical Church of Pomerania, "We must leave it to this church itself to decide whether on the basis of its confessional obligation it can maintain church fellowship with Union churches." But the World Federation cannot say, "We must leave it to this church itself to decide whether it affirms the doctrinal basis of the World Federation." For reception into the World Federation depends upon the affirmation of this doctrinal basis. In this way the World Federation, by its very reception of such a church, is making a kind of doctrinal decision. And the decision is this: "It is possible for a church to recognize the doctrinal basis of the World Federation and still remain in church fellowship with Union churches." I do not wish to pass judgment upon this doctrinal decision here. I wish only to establish the fact that by taking a particular action the World Federation decided a matter which extends into the realm of doctrine and that therefore this action is also subject to the critical norm of the doctrinal basis.

The second example relates to developments within the member churches themselves. I choose the question of the ordination of women to the pastoral office. It is well known that churches which are members of the World Federation have come to the decision that women may be properly ordained to the pastoral office without violating the obligation to the Scriptures and the confession. It is obvious that the position taken by these member churches contains very difficult problems which may directly concern the World Federation. Is the doctrinal basis of the World Federation being upheld when it is taught that women may be properly ordained to the pastoral office and this teaching is incorporated in the constitution of the church? Again the Assembly and its agencies will be inclined to say, "This is a question which must be decided by each member church for itself; as a World Federation we cannot interfere in these internal affairs of a member church." But the Assembly and its agencies must realize that by allowing these churches to continue in membership they are making a concrete decision which again involves a kind of doctrinal decision, namely, that "recognition of the doctrinal basis of the World Federation is possible even though it is taught that women may be properly ordained to the pastoral office." Whether the World Federation wills or not, whether it takes steps against such churches or not, in *any* case by its attitude it is making a decision of far-reaching significance which lies within the scope of a doctrinal decision.

One may try to evade this conclusion by saying, "True, the World Federation must make a decision concerning the confessional status of a church when it grants and upholds its membership. But it makes this decision as a World Federation, that is, as 'a free association of Lutheran churches,' without being a church itself. Because the World Federation is not itself a church, this granting, upholding, or refusing of membership is not a doctrinal decision concerning what is confessional or contrary to the confession in the action of the church in question. The decision of the World Federation is in these cases a purely formal decision as to whether in accordance with the constitution of the World Federation membership is to be granted or not."

In my opinion this line of reasoning cannot be maintained. The hypothetical example of a church constitution, which excludes from the Lord's Supper or from membership in the church, members of a certain race on the grounds of their belonging to that race, should clearly show that there can be cases in which the World Federation is *compelled*, when it makes its decision to grant, maintain or refuse membership in the World Federation, also to measure the church *practice* of a particular church by the norm of its doctrinal basis and thus make a decision which has the character of an ecclesiastical doctrinal decision. Hence the burning importance of the question as to where lies the border between an action that clearly violates the confessional status of a Lutheran church and an action that is still in accord with this confessional status, though there is no consensus in the theological, dogmatic judgment upon this action among the theologians and the churches.

This means that we have already entered upon the second part of the ecclesiological problem of the World Federation. This section of the ecclesiological problem may be indicated by the heading:

III Church Federation, Church Fellowship, Church

One must be grateful to the Lutheran churches of America for breaking beyond the relatively loose bonds that held world Lutheranism together in the Lutheran World Convention and prevailing upon the executive committee of the World Convention to incorporate in its regular New York message of 1936 a proposal to consider as a goal the formation of a federation or alliance of all the Lutheran churches in the world. The new element that distinguishes the World Federation from the previous World Convention consists primarily in the fact that now it is *churches* that meet together through official representatives in the Assembly. "The Lutheran World Federation shall be a free association of Lutheran *churches*" (Art. III, 1). But it is precisely this fact that is now producing new problems. Our analysis of the significance which the doctrinal basis has for the nature of the World Federation has shown us that the churches joined together in the World Federation represent a confessional fellowship. The churches joined together in the World Federation would be a confessional fellowship even without this confederation since they are churches with essentially the same confessional obligation.

Indeed, even those Lutheran churches which are not members of the World Federation but which regard the confessions of the Lutheran church as pure exposition of the Word of God, are—objectively seen—in this confessional fellowship with the other Lutheran churches even though they dispute this or do not declare it. The importance of the World Federation consists not least in the fact that its member churches through their membership in the World Federation have also given expression to this already existing confessional fellowship by their common recognition of the doctrinal basis of the World Federation. We have seen that each particular church which is or becomes a member of the World Federation by this very fact gives to the Holy Scriptures the same recognition and to the Lutheran confessions the same reception which is expressed in the doctrinal basis. The difficulties begin with the question of what this confessional determination means for the practice of the church. Grundmann has the following to say on this point: "The essential differences consist, however, not in the recognition of the confessions, but rather in their application. Generally the questions that have a separative effect among the Lutheran churches of the world today are less those of doctrine than those of practice. Starting with the principle that one cannot judge whether a church is Lutheran solely by the fact that it formally recognizes a confession in a paragraph of its constitution, some member churches of the World Federation consider the adminis-

tration of the confessions in other member churches to be so contrary to the confessions that they do not regard the *consensus de doctrina* as a given fact at all. Thus, for example, the Swedish church is accused of having departed from the foundation of the confession by entering into communion fellowship with the Anglican church. The importance that the question of lodges and secret societies has had and still has for the mutual relations of the American churches may also be mentioned in this connection." (*Ibid.*, p. 404).

The situation described in these words discloses a difficulty which has accompanied Lutheranism from the beginning (I am thinking of the controversy over the Interim) and which has repeatedly made itself painfully evident in the last one hundred and fifty years, especially in the United States and in Australia. These difficulties contribute to the fact that the World Federation must restrain itself in judging its member churches with respect to the actual application of the confessional position within these churches. These difficulties have compelled the World Federation in the reception of new member churches to content itself with what is essentially a formal, legal judgment of the confessional status of the church in question. In some cases this judgment undoubtedly appeared to be a sign of mild large-heartedness.

These difficulties explain why the World Federation repeatedly emphasizes that it is only a *free association* of Lutheran churches, but not itself a *church*, and that therefore the member churches themselves must make the ecclesiastical decisions concerning the practical realization of the confessional position and that they must make these decisions in freedom without any interference of the World Federation in these internal ecclesiastical affairs of the member churches. I have attempted in the preceding section to show that the position which these facts impose upon the World Federation produces grave ecclesiological problems. The basic problem is brought to a focus in the following formula: Actually, on the basis of its own understanding of itself, the World Federation should not have any doctrinal basis at all, but merely a definition of the conditions of membership. Considered from this point of view, Article II of the constitution would make the following statement concerning the nature of the World Federation:

"The Lutheran World Federation is a free association of Lutheran churches which acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only source and the infallible norm of all church doctrine and practice and the confessions of the Lutheran church... as pure exposition of the Word of God. With regard to the interpretation of this confessional obligation the World Federation imposes no norms or obligations upon the member churches. It shall have no power to legislate for the churches belonging to it..."

This would be followed by Article III, given the heading "Purposes" and consisting of the present numbers 2 and 3. It is by no means my intention to propose such a constitutional change. I merely wish to point out that, on the basis of its "official" understanding of itself, the World Federation must really change its doctrinal basis into a definition of the conditions of membership.

there is a consensus in the understanding of the gospel, then it is our spiritual duty to consummate church fellowship.

The basic ecclesiological problem of the World Federation therefore has two sides. The one side is that a free association of churches, which expressly refuses to be regarded as a church, is constantly being obliged by its doctrinal basis and its purposes to act and live as a church. The other side, the reverse side of this problem consists in the fact that in the World Federation, despite the actually existing and expressly declared identity of the confessional obligation of the members, what is being realized is only a free association of churches but not *unitas ecclesiae*. How is this possible?

It is possible only on the assumption that the genuineness, one might almost say, the existential implementation of the affirmation of the doctrinal basis given by the member churches through their membership is being questioned. This lays bare the deepest level of the ecclesiological problem of the World Federation. It can be stated in this way: *Despite the express affirmation of the doctrinal basis, it is doubted that a consensus with respect to the doctrine of the gospel actually exists among the churches joined together in the World Federation.*

Here we are confronted with a spiritual emergency which cannot be resolved overnight. In our efforts to overcome it the following should be observed. It is in accord with the conception of the church in the Lutheran confessions that the service of worship, in particular the preaching in the service and the observance of the Lord's Supper, is the place where it is determined whether the confession is operative or not, but that in the sphere of the rest of church order and the rest of church practice (liturgical arrangements, the structuring of church law, the regulation of relations to the state, the diversity of schools of theological thought within the same confessional obligation) are granted a certain area of freedom, an area which is by no means unlimited, but which also dare not be measured too narrowly in a legalistic way. And when we are marking out the limits of this area of freedom we must bear in mind that the Lutheran church has gone through a process of history since the Reformation, that its history has been different in different places, that therefore various factors in this history have varying influence upon the present, and that these influences cannot be brought overnight into the desired harmony with that which is more in accord with the Lutheran confession and the nature of the church than is the present situation. The question whether the present state of a particular Lutheran church is in fact equal to an invalidation of its confession should be answered by looking at the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments that goes on in that church. In answering this question all other criteria should play a secondary part.

On the basis of these principles it should be possible for the majority, if not all, of the churches joined together in the World Federation to grant church fellowship to each other right now. To grant mutual church fellowship means

But the World Federation has a doctrinal basis! Wherever this doctrinal basis is acknowledged and observed the marks of the church are being erected. It would be contrary to the obligation designated in the doctrinal basis if those who have entered into it were not to preach the Gospel purely and administer the sacraments in accord with their institution. Through Article II of the constitution the World Federation has taken into its nature an essential element of the church which is not in accord with its understanding of itself as merely a free association of churches. This is the root of the fundamental ecclesiological conflict of the World Federation. It may be formulated as follows: *Although, according to the definition of its nature in Article III, 1 of the constitution, the World Federation is not itself a church, because of its binding doctrinal basis it is constantly having to act as a church in concreto and by its actions make decisions which lie within the scope of ecclesiastical doctrinal decisions.*

The purposes of the World Federation likewise show that the World Federation must constantly contradict the theory that it is not a church *in its concrete actions*. A body which bears "united witness before the world to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the power of God for salvation" (Art. III, 2, a) is clearly doing that which erects the *notae ecclesiae*. Note that this bearing witness to the gospel is clearly understood to be an activity of the World Federation and not an activity of its member churches (cf. the statements by Grundmann, *ibid.*, p. 146, n. 137). Further, if it is the purpose of the World Federation "to cultivate unity of faith and confession among the Lutheran churches of the world" (Art. III, 2, b), this assumes—in my opinion, rightly—that this unity is already present, even though it may be weak and burdened with many difficulties, but still present. Only something that is present can be cultivated. So here the World Federation itself lays claim upon its member churches as a fellowship of faith and confession. But where there is a fellowship of faith and confession there is also *consensus de doctrina evangelii* in the sense of Article VII of the Augsburg Confession. It follows that between such churches *unitas ecclesiae* exists and this unity must be acted upon.

Here we face the most difficult and far-reaching ecclesiological problem of the World Federation. It can be stated as follows:

Is it possible for Lutheran churches, which affirm the common doctrinal basis of the World Federation, simply to join as a "free association" without entering into church fellowship with one another? Is this possible on the basis of the act of confession which is a part of belonging to the World Federation?

The ecclesiological conflict in which the World Federation exists can now be expressed as follows: The churches joined together in the World Federation actually accept the same confessional obligation, and by their recognition of the doctrinal basis of the World Federation they also declare that this confessional obligation is the same for all of them. Nevertheless these churches do not take steps toward the establishment of mutual church fellowship. But on the basis of Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, this is an impossible decision. *If*

to be in altar fellowship and pulpit fellowship. I cannot develop these concepts in detail at this point. For our purpose it is sufficient to single out the minimum, as it were, which they include.

And this consists in the following: The churches in question declare through their responsible agencies that they admit the members of the other churches to the Lord's Supper and recognize the ordinations granted by the other churches. If the World Federation takes seriously its purpose to cultivate unity of faith and confession among the Lutheran churches of the world, then it dare not leave its member churches to themselves in this matter which is of such extraordinary importance for all Christendom, but must help them along in order that those among them who are in a position to do so may declare themselves to be in church fellowship in the sense we have indicated and to do so in a legally tangible way. The Minneapolis theses of 1957 are already moving in this direction when they declare: "For our Lutheran churches with a diverse past and different situations and commitments in the present, this 'it is enough' transcends local, national and synodical traditions and urges us to express our unity at the Lord's table where we partake of the Body." (II,5.) This demand is expressed even more pointedly by Grundmann: "The Lutheran World Federation as an association of Lutheran churches is *the means and instrument* through which the individual Lutheran churches should be led to mutual recognition and thus to full church fellowship. Since this goal can be attained only through the realization of the conditions mentioned in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, this would at the same time mean the coming into being of the Lutheran church as a reality which, if it is to bear its name rightly, can only be that which is meant in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession." (*Ibid.*, p. 416.)

This may indicate clearly the significance that mutual recognition of church fellowship has for the Lutheran church. This mutual recognition would be a public acknowledgment of the *unitas ecclesiae* of which Article VII speaks, and the implementation of it in a tangible constitutional way. Whether further constitutional implications would result from this action is a secondary question. What is determinative for the spiritual life of the church and determinative for its obedience to its sole Head is this, that where it knows that the conditions set forth in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession actually exist, it does not irresponsibly allow this *unitas ecclesiae* to float about in the realm of an invisible ideal but rather to implement and realize it in the way mentioned above.

Those Lutheran churches which are in church fellowship with each other will certainly continue to make use of the World Federation in order to manifest in practice the brotherly solidarity and brotherly fellowship which is inherent in this church fellowship. But it is conceivable that such Lutheran churches as are already in church fellowship will discover still other forms in which their church fellowship can be put into practice, forms which hitherto could not be realized within the framework of the World Federation. It is very strange to note that, compared with the situation in the Lutheran World Convention,

the positions taken toward these questions appear to have been reversed. It appears that today the demand that the World Federation must develop into a world church is being made most strongly from the European side. Toward the end of 1951 a meeting of representatives of the national committees of the European Lutheran churches took place in Copenhagen. At this meeting the conviction was expressed that "the Lutheran World Federation will have to conceive of itself as a 'world church.'" There was no doubt about the dangers that emerge here. Two chief dangers were seen, the one that such a world church might become "an organization like the International Red Cross," the other that it might result in an international church with the character of a "Vatican" church. Therefore the demand was made that the path which the World Federation must pursue must be "between the Vatican and the Red Cross" (Quotations from Grundmann, *op. cit.*, p. 417). This demand raises in rough outline an ecclesiological problem which is altogether worthy of reflection. We shall have to think through the question of how the membral independence of the individual Lutheran churches can be combined with a further structuring of its globe-girdling church fellowship.

In this connection we may point to the analogous situation in the modern development of international law. The task which mankind is faced with in world statesmanship today obviously consists in discovering the kind of union of nations which will be based upon national autonomy and yet make possible common action with executive power to carry out actions. This cannot succeed without certain self-limitations upon what we have hitherto thought of as national sovereignty. Significant steps toward such self-limitation have already been achieved in some areas. Christendom dare not ignore this global process in which the nations are growing closer together in the midst of deep-seated cleavages. It must ask itself what this means for its own path. The Lutheran churches have seldom developed any individual, forward-looking initiative in the structuring of their church organization and church law. In many cases they limp along behind the international development and not infrequently they have taken over certain forms from the political world into their own constitutions, even though these forms were not infrequently unsuitable to the real nature of the Lutheran church. May it not be that the reason for the fundamental ecclesiological conflict in the Lutheran World Federation lies in an analogous process? In our century the Lutheran churches, grown wise through the painful experiences of the past, should not commit themselves to the guide-ropes of secular developments, nor allow themselves to become petrified in dead provincialism, but rather on their own spiritual initiative discover the forms which will be suitable to their world-wide church union before they are more or less forced to do so by international political developments. Today it cannot be the business of the Lutheran churches of the world, and therefore of the World Federation, to perpetuate and make an absolute of that ecclesiastical autonomy of the individual churches which Article III, 1 of the constitution was obliged to speak of.

But even the developments within Christendom itself demand a tangible expression of the church fellowship which should be realized among the Lutheran churches. According to Lutheran doctrine, the only legitimate divisions between churches are those which are caused by the gospel itself and therefore are based upon a difference between false and true doctrine. There is only *one* means that has been given to us to overcome such divisions and that is responsible doctrinal discussion. Such doctrinal discussion can be carried on—at any rate in its decisive stage—only between “church” and “church”. A commission of theologians appointed by the World Federation could, it is true, *prepare* such a doctrinal discussion, but it could not *carry it out*. Is any individual Lutheran church in a position to carry out such a discussion by itself alone? As long as the Evangelical Lutheran Church appears in the form of individual, autonomous churches, but as a church has no common organ through which it can speak, it will be able to cooperate in the solution of the ecumenical task only in a very limited way when this task enters its decisive stage.

To illustrate this undesirable situation suppose that the course of the council which the pope has announced should make it necessary for the Lutheran church as such to address a message to all Christians in the world and especially to the Roman Catholic church. Who would do this? The Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation dare not by any means think of itself as a church synod. An “ecumenical council” of the Evangelical Lutheran Church does not exist. In such a case could the Evangelical Lutheran church be content with the fact that it can raise its voice only through the agency of individual churches?

But above all it is the developments in the World Federation itself that show that there are internal reasons why it must grow beyond itself. As long as the charitable tasks of the World Federation are in the forefront a free association is sufficient to cope with them. But the moment the missionary and ecumenical tasks need to be planned and tackled together the action of the World Federation must increasingly become the action of a church. Our analysis has shown that essential tasks which the World Federation has set for itself by their very nature demand the action of a church. Neither the doctrinal basis nor the purposes of the World Federation will permit it to regress and become an organization like the Red Cross. It can only develop forward spiritually in the direction of a genuine church which is composed of members and spans the globe but still is not a “Vatican” church. Is not the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in fact already on the way to developing into a kind of “Lambeth Conference” for the churches joined together in the World Federation? Is not this development in line with what Luther indicated in the Smalcald Articles, Part II, Article IV, where he sums up his view of a proper church government in the following sentence: “Consequently the church cannot be better governed and maintained than by having all bishops equal in office (however they may differ in gifts) and diligently joined together in unity of doctrine, faith, sacraments, prayer, works of love, etc.” How shall the bishops be joined together in this

way if they do not come together? *Episcopi omnes pares officio* and *episcopi omnes summa cum diligentia conjuncti*, **both together** constitute Luther's idea of the best church government. Is it not high time that the individual Lutheran churches consider the concrete realization of this idea?

This brings me to a final formulation of the ecclesiological problem presented by the World Federation: *The World Federation is not an esse, but rather a fieri*. It is on the road toward realizing more and more the church fellowship which exists between *the individual Lutheran churches and becoming an organ of the one globe-girdling Lutheran church*. The tempo at which the World Federation moves forward on this road will depend upon the spiritual insight and the spiritual experiences of its member churches. Here nothing can be forced. The decisive step on this road, however, is clear. It consists in the churches joined together in the World Federation expressly acknowledging church fellowship with one another wherever this is possible. If this is done, the further developments from it will follow, so to speak, of themselves. I conclude with a quotation from Grundmann's book (p. 418) which also expresses my own conviction:

"The destiny of the World Federation will depend upon whether this road (namely, the road to a total church in the sense of church fellowship) is pursued; of that there should be no doubt. Remaining in the present state will in the long run mean that the World Federation will sink to the level of a purely charitable organization or even fall apart."

Comments on Brunner's Essay*

REGIN PRENTER

I THINK IT IMPORTANT to state that upon which we are all in agreement; it appears clear to me that, despite divergence of opinion at individual points, all those who participated in the discussion on the nature of the Lutheran World Federation were of the opinion that it becomes at length an intolerable situation when Lutheran churches of the same confessional stand do not have full church fellowship. They were all unanimous that the establishment of church fellowship should be the urgent goal of such Lutheran churches as still are separated from one another and that the Lutheran World Federation should inspire those of its member churches living in such a situation to this end.

Yet within this unanimity some lack of clarity at certain points can be noticed.

1) What is meant by church fellowship? Does church fellowship consist merely in this, that two churches, on the basis of their unanimous acceptance of the same confessional standards, have altar and pulpit fellowship with one another, that is, that members of one church may, without more ado, commune in the other and that the ministers of one church may exercise their office in the other without the necessity of special sanction? If church fellowship is understood in this way, then strictly speaking it *demand*s no other external manifestations except mutual exchange between church members and ministers. Because church fellowship in this sense involves no common church government (in this case one would have to speak of a united church rather than of a church fellowship of various autonomous churches having the same confessional basis), it is furthermore not necessary in order to exercise and to witness to church fellowship that the churches involved erect some kind of representative or executive central organization. To be sure it is not an impossibility that such a central organization be erected; it is however necessary to remember that in such a situation it should not be regarded as a *necessary* manifestation of church fellowship. In the event that a central organization already exists, as is the case for the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, it is not essential, according to the view of church fellowship delineated above, that the already existing organization (*in casu* the Lutheran World Federation) be so reconstructed that it give in a more direct manner expression to this newly established church fellowship following the establishment of the same among all the member churches. Even then (when *all* of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation exercise *full* church fellowship in the above sense) the Federation can retain its present form as a free association of churches. Naturally it *can* be

* The following comments were not written with publication in mind, but are merely excerpts selected from letters received by the Department of Theology, L.W.F.

remodeled in the direction implied, but it *need* not be. For, if Lutheran churches which are in fellowship with each other do not need a central organization in order to exercise and witness to their unity, then they also do not need a remodeled World Federation. They could remodel the World Federation, but they could also leave it as it now is. Here there is no necessity one way or the other.

One must argue in an entirely different manner if it is felt that church fellowship is not fully manifested by pulpit and altar fellowship but demands some sort of central organization with definite powers in relationship to the individual churches. In this case a central organization is necessary. What form it will take is another question. And for the member churches of the Federation it will be necessary, as soon as they have all established church fellowship with one another, to remodel the Federation into this kind of central organization.

It is therefore very important for the whole discussion that it be made clear whether church fellowship is interpreted in the first or in the second sense. For this has a decisive bearing upon the position which one takes in regard to the future form of the Federation, presupposing the establishment of church fellowship among the member churches. According to the second view, the remodeling of the Federation is demanded as soon as the member churches all have full fellowship with one another. According to the first view, the remodeling of the Federation is one possibility among others. It must be carefully considered whether or not the Lutheran World Federation should be remodeled for one reason or other.

It is my own opinion in this question that, according to CA VII and XXVIII, pulpit and altar fellowship in themselves constitute full church fellowship, and that, along with this, a central organization is not necessary in order to make church fellowship manifest. If church fellowship is interpreted to mean that it must find concrete expression in terms of some type of church government, for instance, in the establishment of a central organization whose relationship to the individual churches is that of an "overseer," then the view is espoused *de facto* that church fellowship can only really be established in its fullest meaning when the churches involved have joined together in one united church. I would have serious doubts about such an interpretation, on the basis of the Lutheran Confessions (especially the doctrine of the unity of the church in CA VII). Certainly, in many places church unions are urgently needed. For example, in the USA, where geographical and political unity is so all-embracing, it is certainly an unnatural situation that a large number of Lutheran churches exist alongside one another. The various mergers of formerly independent churches which have taken place there during the past few years are certainly necessary and healthy. There can, however, be other situations in which it is of decisive importance that Lutheran churches should retain their autonomy in matters of administration and church government. Especially in our century, we must never forget that church unions can also be prompted for political ends. In Europe it is probably neither possible nor desirable that church unions which

cut across the existing national boundaries be attempted. There can be instances (we need only think of the German Church Struggle), in which the complete autonomy of a church in matters of administration and church government is the condition which enables the church to give material and spiritual assistance to a neighboring church which finds itself in a difficult political situation. It can hardly be denied that the remodeling of the Lutheran World Federation into a centralized authority along the lines of church government not only *de facto* furthers, and in the thinking of the proponents such a remodeling should further, the development of the Federation in the direction of a Lutheran world-church, but it would also lead to the restriction of the autonomy of the member churches, which could have dangerous consequences in situations such as that mentioned above. For this reason I should like to warn as vehemently as possible against the "remodeling" of the World Federation in the direction of a "united" church or a preliminary phase thereto.

2) What is the relationship between the organs of church fellowship and a free association of churches? According to the view which I have elaborated under 1), it is not necessary that special organs of church fellowship be developed; however, it is also not impossible. Therefore, the question arises whether there, where Lutheran churches already have an organized fellowship in the form of a free association of churches such as the World Federation, they are obliged, should they have already decided to establish full church fellowship among each other, to use this already existing organization as an organ of their newly established church fellowship and eventually to remodel it for this purpose, or whether it is possible that such a free association (*in casu* the Lutheran World Federation) can and should exist *alongside* of new organs of church fellowship. I, without qualification, support the latter solution. Firstly, it is by no means certain that all of the churches of the Lutheran World Federation will immediately establish full church fellowship with one another; it is quite possible that in the future the Lutheran World Federation will acquire new member churches who will not be ready to enter *immediately* into full church fellowship with all of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. There are, as everyone knows, important Lutheran groups which at present could only with difficulty enter into immediate church fellowship with all of the current member churches of the Federation. However, it is thoroughly possible that such churches, although they *can not yet* have full church fellowship with other churches, can enter into discussion with and can work together with them in a free association of autonomous churches, thus perhaps preparing the way for a closer fellowship with them. It is most desirable that the Lutheran World Federation remain as open as possible to Lutheran churches of this type. However, the World Federation cannot at the same time be an organ of church fellowship for those churches which already have full church fellowship. If they need special organs of church fellowship, then they must organize them alongside of the World Federation. Secondly, the question arises whether it

is not advisable that this duality of free association and organ of church fellowship should be maintained even in the event that all member churches have full fellowship with one another. For objectively speaking, these two forms of organized church unity serve different purposes, which can best be accomplished if the two organizations are not merged into one. If a special organization for church fellowship is *desired* (which, as we said earlier, is not absolutely necessary), then this organ, if it is not to assume the character of a "type of church government," must in all probability take the form of a conference of bishops, somewhat analogous to the "Lambeth Conference." Such a conference could certainly serve a good purpose. But it cannot fulfil the same functions as a free association can. Both actual theological work as well as diaconal work would be inadequately handled in a "bishops' conference" (even though eventually supplemented with "laymen"). In my opinion, a free association such as the Lutheran World Federation is more favourable to real cooperation between the churches than is an official organ of church fellowship. For this reason I would like to advocate that the Lutheran World Federation be retained in its present form with the advantages which such a free association of churches has, without thereby excluding the possibility that churches which have full church fellowship with one another can establish other organizations as organs of the same if necessary.

To sum up: I propose a "both—and." We should attempt with all the means at our disposal both to further the development in the direction of full church fellowship among all Lutheran churches and to retain the Lutheran World Federation as a free association of autonomous churches.

BO GIERTZ

IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE WORTHWHILE to discuss in detail Professor Brunner's very interesting paper. Since I unfortunately do not have the time, I must limit myself to the following remarks.

To pp. 244 and 245: Is the LWF "Ecclesia"?

The *ecclesia Christi* is present wherever people who believe on Christ are gathered around the Word of God. Insofar, we would certainly hope, the gatherings of the LWF are also *ecclesiae*. "Church" can also be used to designate organized churches in the sociological sense. The LWF is *not* a church in this sense. A church in this sense of the term must, for example, ordain ministers, hold regular services of worship, have churches, congregations, an administration, a liturgy, etc., which is not the case with the LWF.

The LWF is only a working organ for the fulfilment of mutual tasks. Just as the United Nations is no state, even though it undertakes military actions, so the LWF is no church, even though it sponsors worship services or sends pastors to South America. The pastors and laymen who participate in the LWF are members of their home churches, and they acquire no new status even though they work full-time for the LWF.

In South America I had reason to think about this question. What is the status of the pastors there who have been appointed by the LWF? In my opinion it is clear that they all belong to their home churches. Only their home churches can invalidate their ordination for teaching false doctrine or for other reasons. Their congregations are not congregations of the LWF, but autonomous Lutheran congregations until they are accepted into one of the existing or one of the newly-established churches. Thus, in my opinion, it is not correct to view the LWF as a "church."

To p. 252:

One could ask whether such church fellowship does not already exist. That the Lutheran churches in the LWF appear as separate churches is an organizational matter derived from geographical, linguistic and historical conditions. Nevertheless, a real church fellowship does exist. Norwegian, Finnish, Estonian and Latvian pastors serve in the Church of Sweden today. They were ordained in their home churches, but can serve congregations here. Members of other Lutheran churches can naturally commune in the Church of Sweden. If they become residents, they can if they so desire become voting members of the congregation, just as a Swede who has returned from abroad. A baptism performed here by a foreign Lutheran pastor is acknowledged as a valid baptism, etc.

It seems to me that the *vera unitas ecclesiae*, as it is acknowledged in the Augsburg Confession, Article VII, already exists here. The things wherein we differ are just the *traditiones humanae seu ritus aut ceremoniae*. Every member church has its own traditions. These are determined by the individual groups themselves. There is no reason to create a supreme synod or church administration which would regulate such matters for all of world Lutheranism. The most serious problem today is that of new traditions which are regarded by many as incompatible with our confessional basis, such as the ordination of women. This question poses a serious threat to church fellowship within the Church of Sweden itself. Naturally, it has repercussions as far as church fellowship between the member churches of the LWF is concerned.

ERNST KINDER

ON THE WHOLE, I AGREE with Brunner's statements, above all with the *concern* which finds expression here, especially in Part III. Brunner has, in my opinion, convincingly pointed out the profound problem which is inherent in the nature of the Lutheran World Federation, and which finds expression in its constitution. I believe that we must honestly face this problem, and should, in no case, seek to minimize it or to conceal it. Next, we must seriously consider the consequences which follow from this. In my opinion, Brunner has very pertinently described the situation. There can be a difference of opinion at one point or another as to the conclusions which must be drawn. But in any case, they must be faced. Thus, if anything more than the mere exchange of unofficial ideas is to result, then I see no other course of action but that certain of the questions raised by Brunner be made the topic of discussion at the next General Assembly. We need, in actual fact, an official commentary authorized by the Assembly on Articles II, III, and IV of the Constitution.

I agree with Brunner on III, p. 251ff.:

Emphasis should be placed upon church fellowship (in the sense of the Minneapolis Theses, II/5) among the member churches of the LWF.

I do *not* agree with Brunner at the following points:

a) II/b, p. 6ff.:

Although it undoubtedly is a fact that the LWF actually makes doctrinal and ecclesiastical decisions, one should nevertheless decline to legalize or institutionalize this control over them; instead the responsibility for such control should be left to the member churches, n.b. after it has earnestly been impressed upon them that they should fully realise and really exercise their responsibility in this regard.

b) III, p. 254ff.:

I would rather one refrained from speaking of a "globe-girdling Lutheran Church" and of the LWF as its official organ. Even though our goal actually is to work toward church fellowship between all Lutheran churches, and even though the LWF serves this end, it should not be expressed in terms such as this, because they easily conjure up misleading conceptions of some kind of organizational super-church. The unity of the Lutheran churches will have been achieved when these really have fellowship with one another. This is the goal to which we must seriously strive.

EDMUND SCHLINK

IN MY OPINION, Dr. Brunner has correctly stated the decisive questions at the beginning of his essay and has carefully and correctly developed and proved them both historically as well as systematically in the sections which follow. The problematic nature of the LWF which he has pointed out represents not merely a theological ambiguity but also an ecclesiological weakness which more than a few theologians have found painful, at least in Germany. A *federation* with the present structure of the Lutheran World Federation is, to be sure, justified for churches of differing confessions, such as those in the World Council of Churches, but for churches which have the same confessional basis it is a contradiction in itself, precisely because of the concept of the church in the Augsburg Confession Article VII, which all of the member churches approve. In order to get out of the present impasse, interest will have to be directed not primarily to the establishment of a common administrative organ of the churches united in the LWF, but to the establishment of full altar and pulpit fellowship as soon as possible. For this reason I would deem it of great significance were the theological commission and the World Assembly of the LWF to attempt a common interpretation of the Augsburg Confession in view of the present world situation, or to prepare a common catechism, which would include Luther's Small Catechism and would interpret it in the light of social and other changes. Only when that consensus, which according to the Lutheran understanding is basic to the unity of the church, finds new and intensive expression, and when the consequences are drawn for unity in the realm of the LWF, will the Lutheran Church possess the authority necessary to make a real contribution to the WCC. I am in essential agreement with the conclusions of Dr. Brunner and would welcome it if the theological commission would adopt them as guiding principles for the further conduct of its work.

STEWART W. HERMAN

PROFESSOR BRUNNER SEEMS to have gone far beyond the intentions of the founders of the LWF in reading into various statements an intention which was not really present. It must be admitted that there is much logic in his deductions and that careful thought should be given either to a correction of the LWF basis as a federation of churches, or we should be consistent in moving from "fellowship" toward union.

The real problem (and here I wonder whether it was wise to use the word "Problem" at all in the title of this paper) is to take ourselves as Lutherans seriously, without taking ourselves too seriously. There is a point at which logic destroys life rather than fosters it. The fact is that—as in the entire ecumenical movement—"life and work" has always preceded "faith and order." First a situation develops, then the theologians develop a theology to explain it, to justify it, or to measure it. This is, in my opinion, a rather healthy aspect of spiritual growth.

Certainly this is what has happened to the LWF and the fact that certain patterns were used to which the church is accustomed does not necessarily mean that the LWF has already become a church or that it must immediately declare itself as such. Thus, in my opinion, Professor Brunner begins to "make a case" by suggesting that the structure of the LWF—in its assembly, president, and executive committee—is "comparable" to synodical organization. From here he goes into the "doctrinal basis" and extracts far more significance from this concept than was ever intentionally implanted in it by the Lund Assembly.

This does not mean that he is entirely wrong. On the contrary, I find much logic in his contention that the doctrinal basis should be replaced by a simple statement of "conditions of membership." Yet, this, if it happened at this late date, might simply have the effect of down-grading the LWF from a churchly federation to a sort of international club.

Personally, I think that the present doctrinal basis, by and large, properly represents the basis on which the federation rests, and I see no reason for belaboring the point that the LWF is a "teaching" agency. In this sense—namely that sermons are delivered at LWF assemblies—it could also be argued that any "free conference" is also a teaching agency. Indeed, wherever two or three are gathered together—and a serious conversation occurs—there is a teaching agency. The essential factor is whether or not the teacher has the power to impose his doctrine or not. Certainly the LWF Assembly has no more power at this point than any free conference would have.

I was intrigued by the quotation on pages 246 and 247 from the letter which the LWF Executive Committee addressed to Dr. Stolz of Australia in 1953, because Professor Prenter and I were largely responsible for the drafting of that letter in Trondheim. If my memory serves me well, it was our specific intention to indicate

that the LWF could not reasonably contain a church which was not in agreement with the doctrinal basis; therefore it could be expected to withdraw automatically as soon as a difference of views became obvious. There was no hint of expulsion or discipline, only of a simple recognition of a status, which made further free association impossible. While it is true that this concept contains "the possibility of procedure against a member church," I do not think it can rightly be said that this was "anticipated" in the quotation which is made. Please remember that I am referring to the tenor and general attitude which prevailed at the time when that sentence was written and when the main point of our epistle was that the LWF could *not* properly question the sincerity of the churches which declare their adherence to the Lutheran Confessions.

From here Professor Brunner moves on to the example of Pomerania which, of course, presents an interesting problem in itself. However, in using the term "church fellowship," he does not refer to the decision which remains in the hands of the pastors and congregations on the question of altar and pulpit fellowship. I am interested in what he means by "church fellowship," especially as I have been studying the inquiry of the WCC Commission on Faith and Order, in which the phrase "churchly unity" is loosely used. In view of the declared position of the Church of Pomerania with respect to the LWF doctrinal basis, I do not see why there should be any reason for thinking that this church will be less careful in its observance of Article VII than virtually all the other member churches of the LWF. This position recognizes that there are many Lutherans who—by conviction—are prepared to exchange pulpits and to exercise a certain degree of latitude in what would be regarded as strict adherence to the Galesburg Rule. (This does not imply approval of the Old Prussian Union or of its present counterpart.)

Professor Brunner accurately says that the Lutheran Churches in LWF would constitute a confessional fellowship even without being organized into a confederation. Of course, this is what they theoretically have been for 400 years, but the fact is that during this long period of actual division, they were more observant of territorial principles underlying the Peace of Augsburg (1555) than the Augsburg Confession. This has been the weakness of our Lutheran fellowship, namely that it had no "secular" organization to represent it. But I fail to see the argument that it is these "difficulties" (p. 250) which have prevented the federation from becoming a united church. The formation of the LWF was not determined by the fact that this was a poor substitute for global union, but that it was a first step in the path of closer cooperation. As one who was present at Lund, I think that I can safely say that the major—if not exclusive—emphasis was upon the pooling of resources, both physical and spiritual, which motivated the establishment of a federation with a central administrative office. Thus I emphatically disagree with Professor Brunner's statement that "these difficulties (namely theological and confessional) explain why the World Federation repeatedly emphasizes that it is only a free association—not a church."

What I have said does not detract from the importance of keeping the nature of the LWF, as a living, growing organization, constantly under review. Growing things need to be shaped and nurtured; inherent blemishes must, if possible, be eliminated in this process. Certainly no church should enter into relationships with other churches—least of all those having the same historic and confessional background—without being extremely sensitive to the call of our Lord for complete unity of fellowship. To the extent that Professor Brunner radically reminds us of this obligation, this paper renders a very valuable service. On the other hand, to the extent that the LWF might feel compelled to retreat from its present position as a brotherhood of like-minded churches, his paper would be guilty of a serious disservice, both to the Lutheran churches of the world and to the ecumenical movement. He is right in saying that the LWF embodies “internal reasons why it must grow beyond itself.”

PAUL C. EMPIE

FIRST LET ME SAY that I think that Professor Brunner has done a remarkably thorough and constructive piece of analysis. He has raised questions which had not even occurred to me and has brought out into the limelight major issues which we must face and solve in the years ahead. It is an important contribution to the study requested by the Minneapolis Assembly and I trust that the many reactions to it will make it possible for the Commission on Theology to draw up a statement which will provide clear, sound guidance to the next Assembly.

I had marked dozens of places on Professor Brunner's paper as points where I would ask questions or make comments, but I think I can boil it all down to two or three major issues. The heart of it all seems to me to be on page 252 where Professor Brunner asserts: "Despite the express affirmation of the doctrinal basis, it is doubted that a *consensus* with respect to the doctrine of the Gospel actually exists among the churches joined together in the World Federation." This is all too true! This is why I agree so completely with his conclusion on page 256, "The World Federation is not an *esse*, but rather a *fieri*." Since this is the case, it seems to me that his objections to the LWF acting as "a free association of churches" lose much of their force. For example, on page 251 he asks: "Is it possible for Lutheran churches which affirm the common doctrinal basis of the World Federation simply to join as a "free association" without entering into church fellowship with one another?" Whether or not it is possible, the fact is that they have done it for the past 13 years! It has been a practical necessity in order that the purpose "To cultivate unity of faith and confession among the Lutheran churches of the world" might actually be pursued. It is just because there is *no* consensus upon all points of the meaning of the Gospel and of the Lutheran Confessions that a "free association" of churches is necessary at this stage of the process of developing Lutheran unity. Certainly there can be degrees of Christian unity without complete doctrinal uniformity and this also is a factor which makes a free association of Lutheran churches possible and necessary during the process of attempting to secure greater consensus on all points of doctrine and practice.

I must say that I think Professor Brunner's question as to whether or not a free association of Lutheran churches should have a "doctrinal basis" is a valid one. In my own mind I have always regarded the "doctrinal basis" as merely establishing "criteria for membership" in exactly the way he defines it on page 251 of his paper. However, when he asks whether or not the LWF can fulfil its purpose "To bear united witness before the world to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the power of God for salvation" unless it has a consensus upon its doctrinal basis and thereby taking unto itself the marks of a "church," he lays his finger

upon one of the most sensitive points of the whole situation. My own interpretation of this particular purpose as stated in the LWF Constitution has been guided by my understanding given above that there are *degrees* of unity and fellowship within the Christian Church. It has seemed to me that Lutheran churches which subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions can to that extent bear a united witness before the world which they could not do, for example, together with Baptists, Methodists or other Protestants. At the same time it must be acknowledged that such unity of faith and confession as these Lutheran churches have must be "cultivated," as proposed in the second purpose of the LWF, in order to give it greater strength and clarity. To insist that a doctrinal basis accepted in good faith implies complete doctrinal uniformity would seem to indicate that the churches accepted into the LWF had not further unity to cultivate; or, to put it the other way round, the preconditions of membership in the Lutheran World Federation would make impossible its very existence as an organ designed to cultivate unity. It seems to me that one cannot easily cast aside the fact that the 13 years of fruitful experience in drawing Lutheran churches closer together both in faith and work through the LWF indicate that there must be a valid pattern which the theologians have not yet discovered!

I cannot quite agree that when a free association of churches acts to ascertain that the conditions of membership are actually fulfilled, it is functioning as a "church." Truth is not decided by a majority vote nor can Christian doctrine ever be established by *vox populi*, but the fact remains, as Professor Brunner indicates at the top of page 239, that the LWF "is a faithful representation of a democratically organized synodical system." I would not exactly describe it as he does when he says "it is the representatives of the member churches gathered in the Assembly." I would be more inclined to say that it is the member churches gathered in an assembly through their representatives. Unless there is the episcopal system in a church, issues are settled by a majority vote, and I find it difficult to accept it as factual that when a majority of members in a free association of churches take a decision they are thereby necessarily acting as a "church." The whole thrust of Professor Brunner's paper seems to be that it is desirable for the Federation to function in a more ecclesiastical manner, but this is an altogether different question. I may or may not disagree with him here, but I cannot feel that the present pattern of functioning through a free association of churches is impossible or improper.

When Professor Brunner asks on page 245 "How else can the World Federation 'develop a united Lutheran approach to responsibilities in missions and education' without a common doctrine without actually teaching in common," I would reply that a free association of churches can indeed labor to develop such a united Lutheran approach concurrently with efforts to develop a greater consensus upon doctrine and upon teaching. The LWF has in fact been doing it. The two advance side by side, step by step. Perhaps our experience in America prejudices me at this point, for the fact is that we have been steadily

proceeding along these lines for the last hundred years without complete consensus on doctrine in advance.

On page 248 he rightly refers to "the burning importance of the question as to where lies the border between an action that clearly violates the confessional status of a Lutheran church and an action which is still in accord with this confessional status." This is precisely one of the points regarding which a wider Lutheran consensus must be achieved; it is impossible to demand that the LWF determine it in advance in order that it may function "properly." It seems to me that the same comment can be made with respect to his reference to the admission of the Church of Pomerania or to the question of whether or not churches which ordain women violate the Lutheran Confession. It may take many years of studying together and working together and praying together for Lutheran churches to achieve a consensus on such points, and to demand that the LWF functioning as a "church" through its doctrinal basis determine in advance these very issues that it is hoped its good offices over the decades will help to solve is both unrealistic and unnecessary.

Perhaps our trouble is that we are trying to "eat our cake and still have it." As soon as evangelical Christians proposed in effect that the Scriptures instead of the Church provide the norm of doctrine they opened the door to permit the factor of individual interpretation of God's Word. A consensus of interpretation under these conditions cannot be achieved by having a confessional organization set up a doctrinal basis as a norm; rather consensus must be realized through the persuasive power of the Holy Spirit working upon the minds and souls of responsible churchmen. I agree that our goal should be "a total church in the sense of church fellowship," but do not see that we can demand of the LWF that it be more than "a free association of churches" at this stage of our journey toward that goal.

CONRAD BERGENDOFF

I FIND THE NUB OF THE MATTER discussed by Professor Brunner on Page 252: "It is doubted that a consensus with respect to the doctrine of the gospel actually exists among the churches joined together in the World Federation."

For the question of whether the Federation is or should be a church is raised because of varying conceptions of what the church is. One party wants the Federation to be so agreed in every detail of doctrine and practice that it could, for all practical purposes, be called a church. Another party allows for diversities of interpretation of doctrine and of practice, and sees the Federation as an association of such diverse bodies. There is a sense in which everybody would agree that the Federation accepts the Scriptures as "the only source and the infallible norm of all church doctrine and practice." Professor Brunner correctly points out the ambiguity of the *and* (Page 240), but I think the problem goes even deeper than the practices of the churches. It concerns the doctrine which is commonly supposed to be more uniform than the practices. In reality there is not common agreement on the comprehensiveness of the doctrine to which adherence is declared. Consequently there can be no common understanding of how the doctrine is to be applied. The problem is in the meaning of doctrine.

The party which demands complete uniformity in all details of doctrine and practice is tempted to think of itself as the norm of the Church, and of the Federation as an extension of itself to include all other Lutherans. Logically it questions whether any other group is correctly called Lutheran, and denies fellowship to any except those with whom there is explicit agreement in all matters of faith and practice, apart from any question of the Federation.

The party which considers the Federation as an association allowing some diversity of interpretation and practice does not slight doctrine, either for member churches or for the association; it believes that there is a corpus of doctrine that is essential for the consistency of either the member churches or the federation. It is the substance of the faith, but it is a center which permeates the whole rather than a circumference which defines and circumscribes the whole. The faith which is described in the confessions holds the church and federation together, not by the letter of the confessions, but by the power of the truth which is there exhibited. That truth might be expressed in other words—wherefore the Federation does not claim the confessions to be the only possible statement of the faith—but such words must not say less than the confessions do. When the church or association holds this faith, it has freedom to speak and act in ways that meet the needs of its relationships and these ways may vary from those of other churches in the federation, even to the extent of allowing for ordination of women. Necessary doctrine does not include this point.

This party would not hesitate to think of the federation as exercising some of the functions of a church. When churches act jointly, the actions they perform are as churchly as if they were the actions of any one church. A federation of

churches which must abstain from the proclamation of the Word and administration of the sacraments would not enhance the power of the member churches but reduce their potency and make of them something less than they are. Such a view of the federation reveals a willingness of the member churches to think of themselves as being churches, but not in any exhaustive or exclusive sense. None of them could claim to be *the* church, and they do not deny some of the marks of the church to any communion proclaiming the Word. They may not stand in fellowship with all such communions, but they are bound to recognize a fellowship in faith with those who confess the same faith in the Lutheran confessions. The Federation is a public witness to an acceptance of the same standards of faith. Rejection of such fellowship is a public witness to other standards than those which have been the norm of the faith of the Lutheran church, and raises the question whether the confessions alone have been the decisive foundations of that Church.

We are thrown back on the "satis" of Art. VII of the Augustana. When this says that "it is enough", the very words imply that there can be both a "too little" and a "too much." It is *enough* that there be agreement on the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. We need to recall that this was written in 1530 when the definition of doctrine was yet half a century from the Book of Concord. If there was a thought of a sufficient agreement being possible in 1530 between the signers of the Confession and the Roman theologians, how can one justify going beyond 1580 in the demands for uniformity of doctrine and practice? Experience shows that the more exacting the demands for uniformity in details are, the more is the temptation to include every possible deviation in the list of necessary agreements. Were one to study the history of the German territorial churches and the Scandinavian churches since the Reformation from the angle of such required uniformity, one could only come to the conclusion that there has never been a truly Lutheran church. For all the orthodoxy these churches can pride themselves on, we wonder if, in the light of the involvements of these churches in their state governments, there ever was a time when in fact there was more unity among the various Lutheran churches than in our own time.

My answer to the problems posed by Professor Brunner's paper is that the Lutheran World Federation should make clear in its constitution both (1) the obligations which each member church assumes in joining the Federation—including the obligation to recognize fellow-Lutheran churches who have the same doctrinal basis, and (2) the extent of the freedom that is allowed each member church in the sphere of doctrinal interpretation and of practice. In so doing the Federation will be ascertaining what are the true criteria of a Lutheran church. Composed of churches who recognize that they have *enough* consensus to constitute themselves as churches, it will also be composed of churches who see in the Federation a means of exercising a function of the church of Christ which is possible in the united action of all beyond what each one individually can do.

ROBERT H. FISCHER

I. CONCERNING THE APPROACH.

I particularly appreciate the basic attitudes in Professor Brunner's essay: (1) the call for a forward look and for tangible action; (2) the doctrinal seriousness, which is true to the Lutheran tradition of facing problems not only on the surface but in their depth; (3) the systematic coverage of the problem, dealing with both the doctrinal basis and the practical administration of the LWF; (4) the ecumenical concern.

I would have preferred (1) that the *ecumenical concern* occupy a more fundamental position in the approach. Professor Brunner deals with the problem of the LWF mainly as an internal problem for Lutherans, and his main consideration of Lutheranism's ecumenical task appears in pp. 254-256, where he deplors that no authority can speak for Lutheranism in ecumenical doctrinal discussions. — I agree that the nature of the LWF is an urgent problem for Lutherans to clarify, but I think that the urgency lies deeper than simply the need of Lutherans to attain greater internal clarity and consistency; it is rather the question of the *Una Sancta*, and the question what right—and duty—Lutheranism may have for presently maintaining and building up her autonomy. I acknowledge, meanwhile, that Professor Brunner in some degree deals with the basic ecumenical concern in his paragraph calling for explicit mention of the ancient creeds in the LWF constitution (pp. 240-241).

I would have preferred (2) a recognition that a constant *biblical critique* must be exercised not only upon the LWF's actions and constitution, but also upon the Lutheran confessions themselves. This I consider an essential element of the genius of Lutheranism, and I think Lutherans need constantly to be reminded of it, for the more "successful" we become in gathering ecclesiastically around the confessions, the more we are tempted to assume that the Lutheran confessions are automatically to be identified with biblical truth.

II. CONCERNING THE MAIN ARGUMENT.

Professor Brunner's main contention appears to me to be that the LWF at present is an anomaly, because it claims to be not a church but only a free association of churches, nevertheless it acts like a church and must act like a church. He urges that it should be the goal of the LWF to develop into "a world church" (pp. 253-256).

This kind of statement leaves me not only unconvinced but also disturbed, for I think it confuses the problem.

I agree with some of the conclusions Professor Brunner draws in spelling out this goal, viz. that while the LWF dare not become a "Vatican" church

(pp. 254, 255), while "nothing can be forced," "the decisive step... consists in the churches joined together in the World Federation expressly acknowledging church fellowship with one another wherever this is possible" (p. 256). I agree that we dare not be satisfied simply with an invisible ideal, but must work to manifest and strengthen the tangible fellowship (pp. 253-254). I agree that member churches must exercise a critical function upon one another within the Federation (pp. 245ff.). I do *not* agree that to undertake the "essential tasks which the LWF has set for itself" (p. 255) makes or should make the LWF, as such, "a church." Nor, though I by no means contend that the LWF should remain just where it now is, do I agree that "remaining in the present state will in the long run mean that the World Federation will sink to the level of a purely charitable organization or even fall apart" (p. 256).

In my opinion, this main contention rests upon some fundamental confusions and ambiguities.

1. It seems to me it is ambiguous in what sense we may speak of "the Lutheran church," in the singular. Throughout Professor Brunner's paper there is an intentional pressure to confront the Lutheran *churches* with the vision of the Lutheran *church*, but the identification of "the Lutheran church" is not at all clear to me in the paper. The *Una Sancta*, we confess, is one; but we may not then proceed by analogy to argue that therefore the Lutheran church is one. The oneness of the *Una Sancta* does not present Lutheranism with an analogy, but confronts it with a judgment. To identify an eventually united Lutheranism with the church as described in C.A. VII (p. 253) seems to me highly questionable.

At the same time, there is indeed a unity of Lutheranism, else we could not apply a common name. The definition of Lutheranism, however, is far from self-evident. Diversity of conviction on how to identify it lies at the base of our difficulty of acting concertedly. One crucial and prodigious task of the LWF is to foster conversation on the question, what is Lutheranism? The discussion will have to examine afresh the proper function of dogma and doctrine.

Acknowledgment that we face this task, meanwhile, does NOT mean that our identification of "Lutheranism" has become altogether uncertain or merely subjective. It does not mean that until we attain a perfectly unambiguous answer, there is no real Lutheran unity and there should be no mutual recognition. On the other hand, it would NOT be correct to say that discussion in the LWF on this problem would make the LWF act *like a church*.

2. I find ambiguity in the expressions, "action of a church," or "action as a church." This leads us to the problem of the nature of a *federation* or *council of churches*. Organized "churches," despite their failure to attain to the New Testament ideal of the term, are the bodies which wield responsibility for the work committed by Christ to his church (and thereby also face the judgment of God for their stewardship of this responsibility!). Until the Lutheran World Federation becomes identical with world Lutheranism, or "the Lutheran church,"

it cannot take over more authority and more responsibility than the member churches assign to it. In this sense the Lutheran World Federation *cannot* be a church. If by God's grace all Lutheran churches should ever achieve full church fellowship, there will no longer be a need for a Lutheran *federation*, but at most, some such organization as a *conference* of the branches of the one visible Lutheran church. It is right and urgent to strive patiently toward this goal, but it is wrong to deplore the present inability of the LWF to pose or act as the official representative of a world-wide Lutheran church. So to criticize the LWF obligates the critic to explain clearly how the LWF could become such an official representative without becoming a "Vatican" church.

A *federation* of churches is precisely an organization of churches NOT NECESSARILY IN COMPLETE FELLOWSHIP. But as a federation of churches, the LWF is precisely an organization to keep its member churches aware of the responsibility which their real though limited unity places upon them, and an organization through which they may do unitedly whatever can be done despite the limitation of their unity. This in itself should be enough to call for—and indeed, demand—a patiently ongoing Lutheran World Federation.

Meanwhile, I do not agree that the LWF *becomes* a church when it deals with matters of doctrine and takes action based upon doctrine (cf. pp. 244ff., 249ff.). I do not agree that the LWF in its present understanding of itself "has no doctrinal basis but only conditions of membership" (p. 248). Such contentions I maintain are based upon a confusion on *who acts* in such cases, and an ambiguity over what a church's action is.

The doctrinal basis is "the spiritual norm measuring its (the LWF's) actions" (p. 239). What are the actions of the LWF? They are essentially the joint actions of the member churches, the performing of tasks committed to it by the member churches, responsible to the member churches, valid only when and to the extent that they are accepted by the member churches. The LWF is a "confessional fellowship" (p. 249); however, this does not mean that it *is* a church, but rather that it is *composed of* churches. Note that the word "confessional" is not univocal; here it indicates a real recognition of kinship and responsibility, but also imperfect realization of fellowship.

What is the alternative? Is it correct that there is "no consensus" of doctrinal interpretation? (pp. 248, 252), that at present the LWF has no doctrinal basis but only conditions of membership, since it "*imposes no norms or obligations* upon the member churches"? (p. 250). I hold that these conclusions are not correct, because the LWF is a federation of Lutheran Churches. (a) There is a real though limited consensus among us, requiring our recognition; Professor Brunner acknowledges this when he speaks of a Lutheran church. (b) It seems to me incorrect to set up the alternative: either doctrinal basis or mere condition of membership; doctrinal *basis* means condition of cooperation, but n.b.: cooperation among Lutheran churches (cf. Minneapolis Proceedings, pp. 161 f.). Naturally, then, the LWF engages in the proper work of churches, but it is not on that account

a church, nor does it usurp a church's prerogatives, if it performs only those tasks which the member churches assign and continue to control. (c) The LWF's denial that of itself it possesses any powers to administer *discipline* upon member churches does not mean an admission of impotence or dereliction of responsibility or acknowledgment that discipline is unimportant, but rather a recognition that church discipline is the formal responsibility of the member *churches*. It is unfair to say that no norms and obligations are held before the member churches; rather, sister churches as *churches* have this responsibility of mutual counsel and reproof. In an extreme case such as Professor Brunner mentions, it may be necessary for member churches concertedly to censure a sister church, or expel her from the Federation, but here again the principle should be that a specific responsibility is committed to the Federation by member churches, not that general authority for the discipline of member churches is granted to the Federation itself.

As for the stated *purpose* to cultivate unity, I agree that member churches should be *helped* and *led* to a more complete, more tangible fellowship (pp. 253). But *who* should lead them, and how? Is it not the churches helping one another through participation in the LWF? By analogy, it was not the American "National Lutheran Council" as such that *led* seven major Lutheran bodies into two great church mergers now being consummated; but participation of these bodies in the NLC may be said to have *led* them to understand their responsibility for closer fellowship. Thus it is not true that churches in the LWF "do not take steps toward the establishment of mutual church fellowship" (p. 251).

What is meant by the suggestion that in regard to the fellowship question "the LWF dare not leave its member churches to themselves"? (p. 253). The alternative should be spelled out! Conversation and cooperation in the LWF should make increasingly clear our need for closer and more tangible fellowship, and should help us clarify the principles of church fellowship. Beyond this, the LWF should not have coercive power to produce and control fellowship.

Indeed, special study should be devoted in the LWF to clarifying the principles of church fellowship. It is not unambiguously clear that there is one and only one "Lutheran" view of what characterizes church fellowship, and what conditions make church fellowship possible. Perhaps our common interpretations are too doctrinaire. Basically, I would contend, our approach should be NOT that we may formally establish church fellowship with certain people if they fulfil an elaborate set of conditions for it, BUT that we must acknowledge church fellowship with all who call upon Jesus Christ as their Saviour and Lord unless there are compelling reasons why we must withhold or qualify fellowship.

Other stated *purposes* of the LWF I consider similarly proper to a federation of churches, and I do not think they require us to assume that the Federation has become a church or should become one. A purpose is a promise not of perfect accomplishment, but of faithful effort. To declare it a purpose of the LWF to "bear united witness before the world," for instance, means (a) to

bear whatever specific witness the member churches authorize, and (b) to acknowledge that united witness is a task and a goal according to which the churches will be judged by God. To deplore the fact that in ecumenical doctrinal discussion there is no single authoritative voice of Lutheranism (p. 255) reflects in my opinion not only an unrealistic but a mistaken wish. I do not think that "a common organ through which to speak" can forthwith claim ecumenical authority; further, I wonder if "an 'ecumenical council' of the Lutheran church" (p. 255) would not be a contradiction in terms.

SIEGFRIED PAUL HEBART

WE IN AUSTRALIA are most grateful to Prof. Brunner for his very thorough analysis of the meaning and purpose of the Lutheran World Federation. As is well known, the ecclesiological problem which the constitution of the LWF presents has for many years been the subject of keen debate between the two Lutheran churches in Australia. I have studied Prof. Brunner's article very carefully and note that he has given us *in toto* all the points that have been made by one or the other side in the debate here in Australia. Since his examination was made quite independently of the discussion in Australia, it is for us a most significant confirmation of the problem as we have seen it. Here in Australia, and probably elsewhere too, however, either side in the debate has tended to emphasize only the one aspect of the problem in its effort to find a solution. Thus the one side has stressed the federation or association aspect in answer to those who for their part stressed the confessional basis and the churchly character of the purposes and work of the LWF. This does not mean that either side was not prepared to admit the justification for what the other side was urging, but rather, that either side saw the answer in a one-sided stress.

It seems to me that Prof. Brunner has helped us all by proceeding in the dialectic way to demonstrate that we must see the LWF in all its twofoldness, not ambiguity, but, as I would say, in its purposeful twofoldness. This twofoldness is a double one: The LWF with its confessional basis and with the "expressly declared identity of the confessional obligation of the members," is obliged "to act and live as a church." Yet it consistently "refuses to be regarded as a church" and wants to be no more than a free association of churches. That is the one twofoldness. The other is this: "The World Federation is not an *esse*, but rather a *fieri*." It is not what it should be, and what it should be is in the making, in hope. This latter twofoldness is, as I see it, the reason and justification for the first twofoldness. Prof. Brunner does not actually say this, but I believe he would agree, and if I understand him correctly, he wishes to indicate this in that short sentence at the end of his article: "Here nothing can be forced." So I find myself in general agreement with his analysis. However, there are some aspects which, as I see it, need further investigation.

In the first place, I submit that the article tends to overplay the churchly character of the LWF and its purposes and work. This stress is understandable in view of the fact that it is an *ecclesiological* problem which is examined; but perhaps this tended to limit the analysis too much. It is interesting that at the very outset Prof. Brunner sets himself the task in the following words: "the question arises whether there can or should be such a thing as 'a free association of Lutheran churches,' which the Lutheran World Federation proclaims itself

to be . . ."; and, except for passages in the concluding sections of the article, he consistently approaches the problem from the ecclesiological angle. This does not surely do full justice to the *present Selbstverständnis* of the LWF as free association. The single member churches, the assembly, the executive committee and the administrative organs would undoubtedly place first stress on the federative character of the LWF, and would interpret its aims and work in terms of a *Zweckverband*. From this angle we need a further investigation which sets itself the task to examine the LWF as a free association. It could be asked whether so much which Prof. Brunner has described as teaching, witnessing, proclaiming, confessing, on the part of the LWF, is really such. Just two examples: He speaks of the Theses which were adopted by the Assembly at Minneapolis as "an exercise of teaching." The preamble to these theses states: "Twenty discussion groups have engaged in this process of thinking together. The result of this work is summarized in the following theses. We hand them over to all Lutheran congregations in the world . . . we ask you to give these theses your prayerful study and careful consideration." It seems to me that all that was done at Minneapolis was that the assembly adopted the theses as a fair record and interpretation and summary of all the work and thinking that had been done in common for the purpose of offering to member churches material related to burning problems of our time for study and edification. It could be well argued that in all this that assembly was strictly acting as an association pursuing some of the aims and purposes for which it was constituted, i.e. as a *Zweckverband*.

As a second example I mention the communion services. I do think that it does make quite a difference whether the Federation *as such* includes a communion service on its assembly program for the purpose of establishing a *koinonia* among the member churches through their representatives, or whether the local congregation arranges communion services for the purpose of enabling delegates and visitors and local people to commune together, not as delegates or visitors or local people, but simply as "Lutherans."

The second aspect that needs further investigation is the crucial matter of the doctrinal basis and its implications. I believe that Prof. Brunner has stated this problem admirably and I agree with his basic findings. What we ought to explore further is the present *need for the twofoldness* to which I referred above. The doctrinal basis is an eligibility clause limiting the membership to those who subscribe to that basis. At the same time it is witness, challenge and goal, not only norm and standard; it points the member churches to that which ought to be and unfortunately is not. Finally this basis is content and purpose and discipline for all the work of the federation and for the way this work is planned, determined and carried out by assembly, executive and organs and agencies. But is this the original and actual meaning of *confessio*? None of us would be satisfied to say that. But can we say more just now if we are to be truthful? Again, none of us would say that we can say more. Therefore, can we demand more just now than twofoldness?

This brings me to a third point that needs elaboration, and that is *the practice* of the federation and its member churches. Prof. Brunner has said some very vital and timely things about all this and on this point I also find myself in complete agreement with him. In many ways this is the most difficult and most urgent of all the problems that confront us. There can be no doubt that the federation has made some far-reaching decisions, for example, by some of the admissions that it has granted into membership. Were these in keeping with the doctrinal basis? There can be no doubt that some of the member churches have made far-reaching decisions in their practice as churches. Were these in keeping with the Lutheran Confessions? I completely agree that practice in this context must be understood to mean the identity of affirmation and action with the *publica* doctrine of the church; I agree that we must think more earnestly about the fact that a church can violate its confessional commitment through its practice. At this point we need to think further of the significance of the *damnamus* in the Lutheran Confessions, on the significance of the fact that we ascribe to the *Unaltered* Augsburg Confession and the implications of all this for our communion practice, for some of the intercommunions that have been declared. I hope the great need for thinking about the meaning of the *damnamus* in our Confessions will be realized when we think about the significance of "practice." I sometimes fear that many of us quickly skip these negativa and concentrate on the positiva, forgetting that these negativa were really also confession of the fathers, who in them drew the practical conclusions of what they had just stated positively. Or we ought to think about the work we do in common and whether, if it is of a churchly nature, it amounts to a *communio* or *koinonia* which is tantamount to *unitas*. Is such *common* practice possible when such *koinonia* is not complete, perhaps because in other matters practice is not in keeping with confessional commitment, e.g. the meaning of the "*improbant secus docentes*" in C.A. X. Or to what extent can discipline be exercised in these matters? The question where we are to draw the boundary line, raised by Prof. Brunner, is the most burning of all problems for the Lutheran churches in Australia.

There is another point which I would like to mention: on page 250 of Prof. Brunner's paper he takes up the suggestion which was first made by us in Australia that the LWF could be made a true federation if we altered the doctrinal basis to read, "a free association of Lutheran churches which acknowledge etc."; here the LWF no longer as such has a doctrinal basis, but it is shifted unto the member churches. The idea for this alteration originally came from me, but I would no longer suggest it, because it would mean that assembly, executive, agencies and staff would be bound doctrinally only as members of their respective churches, but not as the LWF; this, I think, is wrong. The LWF as such needs a doctrinal basis.

We will need further reflection on the relationship of *Law* and *Gospel* to the whole complex problem. The application of Gospel principles will mean that in many things we shall not be able to determine the boundary line. On the

other hand, we shall have to draw some line. But the twofoldness of the present situation will, when we have faced up to all these matters, in all likelihood remain. We may assume, as Prof. Brunner does, that *ecclesia* is established in a Federation service. But this *ecclesia* has all the dialectic and hiddenness of the *una sancta* in it. Here the "open wound" of our inner-Lutheran differences (at least in our practice) becomes evident. Here confession of truth and faithfulness to what our Lord has entrusted to us requires divisions; certainly we cannot ignore these divisions. On the other hand preaching and common communion, whilst establishing a *koinonia*, need not necessarily immediately wipe out all prevailing divisions, as little as an interdenominational youth gathering caught up in a surge of revolutionary fervor does not wipe out denominational divisions by celebrating a common communion. Ours is a *theologia crucis*, not a *theologia gloriae*. Too rigid an application of the Law, too quick a complete demand for doctrinal purity in practice, will reach out for a perfection which also in the Lutheran community amounts to a *theologia gloriae*. In this sense the doctrinal basis of the LWF is stimulus and challenge and critical norm; but it also reminds us that we have the treasure in earthen vessels and that our way is also the way of hope. Where is the way between challenge and hope? This will also have to be a decision of faith. Hence as we are now, we shall have to accept the twofoldness of our federation as those who suffer under what they are and press forward to that which they ought to be, as those who exhort and encourage one another, and as those who repent and absolve one another.

However, by these remarks I do not want to give the impression, that I am in favor of twofoldness as a permanent *status quo*. The opposite is my opinion. I am sure that one of the really urgent tasks of the LWF and more particularly of the Department of Theology is to explore ways and means of regaining a true consensus within the Lutheran churches of the world. How can we, for example, ever hope to enter a discussion with Rome, when we are so hopelessly divided among ourselves even in the *positiva* of our Confessions, to say nothing of the *negativa*? In all of this we are only at the beginnings and the LWF is a *feri*. To demand an immediate *esse* is a *theologia gloriae*. On the other hand, there is such an overwhelming measure of real consensus among Lutheran churches of the world, that it would be foolish to say the *feri* of a *theologia crucis* must remain the *status quo*. In this sense the twofoldness is all we can have *just now*, and they who cannot enter into this twofoldness must really ask themselves, whether they do not urge Law at the expense of the Gospel. But we must move on and the LWF must become the organ of a globe-girdling Lutheran church, as Prof. Brunner says at the end of his article. Our Federation cannot ever be satisfied to have done its work until we, the member churches, are ready to acknowledge church fellowship with one another. And then our true common work can really begin.

KÁROLY PRÖHLE

THE PROBLEM

For some years now the Commission on Theology has been concerned with clarifying the principles involved in the nature of the Lutheran World Federation.

The question as to what extent the Church pronouncements and decisions of the Federation are binding upon them is a problem which the member churches must continually face in their mutual cooperation in the Lutheran World Federation. The problem becomes especially acute with the entry of new churches into the Federation. Here the question arises as to what extent differences of doctrine or of tradition are acceptable both as regards the new member church and the Federation. According to its constitution, the Federation does not view itself as a church but as "a free association of Lutheran churches." Despite this, however, it does have a doctrinal basis; one which acknowledges the canon of the Holy Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. The Federation issues statements and makes decisions deriving from this doctrinal basis which are much more appropriate to a church than to a federation of churches. The great value of the article by Professor Peter Brunner, "The Lutheran World Federation as an Ecclesiological Problem," lies in the clarity with which he has presented the specific problem of the nature of the Federation. His statements about the doctrinal basis are convincing and even his description of the necessary future development of the Federation, "Federation of churches—church fellowship—church," appears to be logically compelling. Nevertheless, I should like to comment on some points and add a few remarks.

When dealing with this problem, it is above all essential that we sharply distinguish between theological and constitutional questions. Certainly, "every dogmatic discussion is normative" and "the solution of an ecclesiological problem necessarily has its implications for the formation of church law" (Brunner). However, constitutional conclusions valid for every age and for every situation cannot always be derived from dogmatic statements. One could quote numerous examples of this. For instance, in the sixteenth century, the churches of the Lutheran Reformation were one church theologically, and they were to a large extent conscious of their unity although this unity seldom found expression in their constitutions. The same could be said of the early Christian church as a unity. Constitutional questions have always played a subordinate, a serving role in the life of the church. This we have on the authority of a constitutional lawyer himself: "It is essential that full church fellowship be established among the member churches of the Federation. This is the Federation's principal task. Then the total Lutheran church will be a reality. Whether and to what extent this total church is viewed as a constitutional unity is a secondary question."¹ For

¹ Grundmann: *Der LWB*, 1957, p. 418.

this very reason I should like as briefly as possible first to discuss the problem raised by the nature of Lutheran Christianity from a theological perspective, and then the problem raised by the nature of the Lutheran World Federation.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NATURE of Lutheran Christianity from a Theological Perspective:

The theological problems involved in the nature of the Lutheran World Federation cannot be developed from the actual constitutional nature of the Federation. Were we to attempt this, taking the constitutionally prescribed doctrinal basis of the Federation as our point of departure, we would, despite all attempts to deal with the problem theologically, get bogged down in constitutional questions. The actual theological problem represented by the Federation really begins at the point of Professor Brunner's concluding statement: "The World Federation is not an *esse* but a *fieri*. It is on the road toward . . . becoming an organ of the one globe-girdling Lutheran church." The theological problem rests not in the nature of the Federation, not in its given constitution, which may be changed, and also not in the doctrinal basis given in its constitution, but in its aim and its task. Its nature can only be gauged by the aim and the tasks which extend beyond the Federation itself. The World Federation should become, and wants to become, an organ of Lutheran Christianity. Consequently, the theological problem involved in the Federation has to do, above all, with the aim and the task of Lutheran Christianity which we might perhaps express with the word "mission." Therefore, the theological question may be expressed thus: What is the mission of Lutheran Christianity in our present-day world?

From the very beginning the Lutheran movement towards unity has been marked by an ecumenical character. The central theme of the first Lutheran World Convention in Eisenach in 1923 was: Lutheranism and the Ecumenical Movement. Two of the addresses on the theme were "The Ecumenicity of the Lutheran Church" by Professor Nihmels and "That They May All Be One—What Can The Lutheran Churches Do?" by President Fr. H. Knubel. They spoke with a definite consciousness of being Lutheran but their purpose was not to assert their Lutheranism but to point out the task of Lutheranism within Christianity. They referred to the fact that Lutheranism occupies a central, unifying position among the Christian confessions because it has most clearly concentrated on the very center of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Perhaps today we can no longer express ourselves in these terms; perhaps we should speak more modestly about ourselves nowadays. But we must not give up their basic ecumenical approach, but must develop it further, and we must also acknowledge that the leaders of that day, as regards the ecumenical task of Lutheranism, have grasped a central element in the mission of Lutheran Christianity in this world. Lutheran unity cannot take the form of priding ourselves on our alleged confessional stand nor of using our confessions to defend ourselves against other

Lutherans and against other confessions. So to foster Lutheran uniqueness would result in a false confessionalism which would contradict the very nature of our own confessions. All of our confessional standards, from the first to the last (cf. the introductions to the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord), stress that they do not want to teach anything new or unusual, but want only to testify to the one Gospel of the living Christ. And this they do with remarkable consistency every time a new question crops up. We recall also Luther's statement that we should not call ourselves Lutherans, but Christians. This means that the more we refer to the uniqueness of Lutheranism, the less Lutheran we are, and the more we testify to the living Christ as the unifying center of Christianity, the better we understand what Luther meant.

However, with this we have indicated only one aspect of the mission of Lutheran Christianity. In order to comprehend the whole scope of our mission we must become fully aware of our responsibility to the world. This naturally consists above all in testifying before the world to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the power of God for salvation, as is rightly declared in the constitution of the Lutheran World Federation (III.2.a.). However, we cannot testify to the Gospel without taking upon ourselves the difficult problems of the modern world and participating in their solution. We are already called to this task in that we proclaim the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not only Lord of his church but has come into the world because he loved and still loves the world. Moreover, the Lutheran doctrine of justification also contains this view towards the world. This interpretation in itself negates the view that the Lutheran doctrine of justification has to do merely with the inner religious needs of the individual soul. In fact, it is the free grace of God which liberates us to selfless service to our fellow-men. Moreover, the good works which proceed from faith have nothing in common with asceticism and the renunciation of the world, instead they consist of the honorable fulfilment of the common tasks of daily life. The Lutheran doctrine of justification restored the honor of the secular calling in contrast to the monastic ideal. Today, of course, we can no longer use the same terminology to express the truths of the Lutheran doctrine of justification to modern man. Among the "good works," to which we are in duty bound by the free, justifying grace of God, and to which our faith in Jesus Christ impels us, we must today include our whole-hearted cooperation in the great concerns of modern man, the concern for world peace, for a just economic and social order for all classes and all peoples, especially the concern that the peoples who are at a disadvantage economically, spiritually and culturally should acquire a higher standard of living, equality and freedom. Were we to deny or to neglect this world-oriented aspect of Lutheran Christianity, we would be opting against the original character of the mission of the Lutheran Reformation.

We cannot here develop this line of thought in more detail. Perhaps, however, this much has been made clear, that Lutheran Christianity cannot prevail if it falls back upon a confessional self-assertion which is concerned only with

its own inner problems. Jesus' statement, "Whoever seeks to gain his life, will lose it," applies not only to individual persons, but also to Christian groups. Lutheran Christianity, therefore, only has a *raison d'être* when it is pointed beyond itself to its ecumenical and common human tasks. These aspects follow from its Lutheran and Christian character. Were it to restrict itself to a confessionalistic self-assertion, it would tread the path of self-destruction, since it would not only cease to be Christian but it would also cease to be Lutheran.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NATURE of the Lutheran World Federation:

We can now again take up the problem of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation. The Federation is meant to be an organ of the whole of Lutheran Christianity. After what has been said, it ought to be clear that the Federation cannot fulfil its purpose by merely bringing together world Lutheranism. The Federation will only become an appropriate organ of world Lutheranism when it succeeds in awakening and assisting Lutheran Christians in the fulfilment of their above-described mission. This cannot be achieved by means of constitutions or constitutionally correct decisions, but only through theological concern, or, more precisely, through the obedient hearing of and testimony to the Word of God. Consequently, constitutional questions must be subordinated and must remain in the background, since they do not deal with the essential problem; in fact, they could even hinder the Federation in the fulfilment of its essential mission were they to predominate or to become confused with theological questions. Much depends on the clear differentiation between theological and constitutional decisions. What this means must be shown by one or two examples.

Our forefathers liked to speak of *the* Lutheran church although no constitutional unity existed. This conception of Lutheran unity is deeply rooted in our people's consciousness of themselves as Lutherans. It corresponds to the definition in our confessional statements, according to which a consensus in regard to the proclamation of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments is sufficient for church unity. This conception of Lutheran unity underlay the confessional resolution adopted by the first Lutheran World Convention in 1923 in Eisenach, which has become the doctrinal basis of the Federation. It was intended in the ecumenical-Lutheran spirit we have tried to describe above. It was never intended as a means to differentiate between groups within Lutheranism; rather, it was meant to document the unity already existing among Lutherans. Consequently, the doctrinal basis of the Federation must be approached with the same magnanimity. Certainly, we cannot overlook the fact that many differences in doctrine and practice do exist among the Lutheran churches. But here again it is important to distinguish between constitutional and theological decisions. The decision to join the Federation is a constitutional one. Theological

differences in practice and doctrine are not settled by a church joining the Federation, by a church refusing to join the Federation or by refusal to admit a church into the Federation; they are only settled in the course of brotherly theological discussion within (!) Lutheran Christianity, that is, within the Lutheran World Federation. For this very reason, various church bodies that call themselves Lutheran should be invited to join and to participate in brotherly discussions in the Federation, regardless whether they still have reservations against joining (the Missouri Synod) or whether the other members of the Federation have, at the moment, reservations against their admittance (such as the Lutheran congregations in Union churches).²

The wording of the Constitution of the Federation itself substantiates this opinion: "The Lutheran World Federation shall be a free (!) association of Lutheran churches," the goal of which is "to promote fellowship and cooperation in study among Lutherans." The very fact that the Constitution talks of a free association and of the further development of brotherly fellowship and mutual discussion is proof that it not only holds differences between the member churches to be possible but also presupposes them. The Federation can only foster correct and forward-looking theological decisions if these various Lutheran churches will join the Federation without reservations, thus making broad, brotherly discussions possible. In the same manner a distinction should be drawn between the theological and constitutional aspects of future decisions. A statement, such as those issued by the General Assembly, should only be authoritative by virtue of its content, that is, its theological validity; for this very reason, it should possess no constitutional authority. It is primarily a statement issued by those immediately involved, in which every group or individual can concur or with which they can disagree. In regard to such statements there is a place for differences of opinion as well as a consensus; in fact even a "minority report" is in order. A statement which candidly describes the actual situation is much more convincing than a statement which disguises the real problems with generalities. This should be borne in mind with respect to the forthcoming World Assembly.

Through such a candid treatment of inner Lutheran questions, the Federation would be freed to devote itself to those tasks arising out of the above-described responsibilities which Lutheran Christianity has for ecumenical-Lutheran as well as general human matters. I do not wish to repeat what has already been said, but merely to emphasize that this sense of responsibility must be more fully expressed in the study-program and, above all, in the theme of the next World Assembly. I am glad that the annual report of the Commission on Theology unequivocally states that the theological work on the doctrine of

² There is a painful lack in the Federation in that significant men and theologians who regard themselves as Lutherans and who are sensitive to the contemporary questions of Christianity and of modern man, must remain outside of the Federation merely because they belong to Union churches. A magnanimous solution of this problem seems to me to be imperative.

justification being carried out within the Federation should concentrate on the problem of good works, thus allowing the burning questions of today to find expression. I especially welcome the theme proposed there, which has to do with our service in the world. How can we preach the gospel to the world if we neither listen to nor have anything to say about the problems of modern existence? Precisely through its discussion of the actuality of the doctrine of justification the Theological Commission is challenged to speak a positive word concerning the problems facing mankind.

Finally, a word concerning the Federation's road from a fellowship of churches to total church fellowship and to a world church. We can agree with Professor Brunner that full church fellowship (confessional fellowship, pulpit fellowship and altar fellowship) among the member churches of the Federation should be our goal. Here the important thing, however, is not the recognition of total church fellowship in terms of ecclesiastical law, but the brotherly theological discussion which removes the barriers between churches. The need for brotherliness must be specially emphasized, for again and again the Lutheran churches, and consequently also the Federation, are haunted by a spirit of unbrotherly judging under the mantle of pure doctrine. From the heights of our alleged correctness of belief a devastating judgment is often passed upon others. Such a judgment is often passed on those persons in socialistic countries under whose leadership we, believing on the Living Christ, cooperate in the socialistic order and, on good terms with the secular powers, work for social reconstruction and the renewal of our church. This spirit of judgment is, however, a sign of decadence. Where the pure doctrine is not merely reproduced in a lifeless manner but is interpreted anew in terms of contemporary problems and is vitally proclaimed, there one's own inadequacy is acknowledged and no room is left for judging; instead an attempt is made to learn from one another and to help one another. When the Federation is conscious of the greatness of its mission and is occupied with the burning problems of the present day, the unbrotherly spirit of judging disappears and gives way to the spirit of understanding, helping brotherliness. Then the Federation acts as a church. For this, it is neither necessary, nor is it desirable, either to change the Constitution or to establish a Constitution for a world church. This would only deflect us from the main thing, from the power of true brotherhood which alone can build the church. For where there is brotherly love, there is the true church (John 13:35).

Concluding Remarks

PETER BRUNNER

I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS my sincere thanks to all those who have commented on my essay, not least to those whose remarks have been critical. Although I did not find all of the criticisms convincing, they nevertheless served to point out to me where my remarks might have been better expressed. The discussions of the Theological Commission of the Lutheran World Federation were especially helpful. They have shown me that the ecclesiological problem, which is of grave concern to me in respect to the Lutheran churches, is just as intense as ever, but only partly concerns the Lutheran World Federation as such. I will come back to this towards the ends of my remarks.

It is certainly no accident that most of the criticisms concern Part III of my essay. Nevertheless, I should first of all like to call the reader's attention to Part II. I am concerned that this section should not completely fall by the wayside. Its purpose is three-fold. I wanted 1) to show that an authoritative interpretation of the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation, in particular its doctrinal basis, is essential. I wanted 2) to make a few proposals which in my opinion must be taken into consideration in an interpretation of this kind. And finally, I have proposed one, and only one, change in the text. To begin with the last point, my proposal to make express reference to the three symbols of the ancient church in Article 2 of the Constitution apparently, to judge from the course which the discussions took, met with no opposition. As ever, I still consider this point to be so important that it should be presented to the Assembly for decision.

As far as my interpretation of the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran World Federation is concerned, I was somewhat surprised that my interpretation of the significance accorded the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism within the totality of the Lutheran Confessions has evoked no critical comment. May I conclude that all are in complete agreement? If my interpretation is accepted at this point, then, in my opinion, we would have laid down a very important premise for the realization of fellowship (*Koinonia*) among all Lutheran churches, regardless of the confessional variations which might be in evidence.

My remarks on the question in which sense the Holy Scriptures can be the sole source and infallible norm of *all church practice* have occasioned a number of comments which I cannot treat in detail here. This much, however, must be stated: the course which the discussion has taken shows that we face a double task in this matter. It is necessary 1) that a basic statement be issued regarding this complex of questions, perhaps in the form of a "theological declaration." A "theological declaration" of this kind should, in my opinion, include three

points. It must a) reject a false "legalistic" understanding of the normative character of the Scriptures for all church practice, b) reject the belief that the practice of the church is free of all norms and must make clear that the freedom to which we are called in the gospel in no way justifies arbitrary action but imposes obligations upon the practice of the church which can be formulated in a very concrete and universally valid manner, and finally c) such a theological declaration must admit that often it is impossible to determine exactly the boundary line between an action of the church which transgresses the norm of Holy Scriptures and one which complies with it.

The second task which is implied here is this: that the Lutheran World Federation should explain in an interpretation of its Constitution, which I consider to be absolutely essential, why it as a Federation must decline to answer the question as to where that boundary line of which we have spoken above has to be drawn in deciding the practical problems which concern the Lutheran churches today, and why it generally refuses to pass judgment concerning the differences which exist in this respect between the Lutheran churches. Thus we see why the Lutheran World Federation is able to perform a necessary service precisely since it is a free association of Lutheran churches.

This brings me to the real core of my essay. In Part III, I started with the question whether the Lutheran World Federation can be an adequate expression of that fellowship which, according to CA 7, exists among the Lutheran churches. This starting point was, I admit, somewhat naive. In order to explain this naivete I may perhaps be permitted a personal reminiscence. I was deeply shaken when for the first time I encountered the fact that Lutheran churches refuse one another pulpit and altar fellowship although they are bound by the same Confessions. I have been, and still am, of the opinion that this fact should cause us some sleepless nights, for at the Last Judgment our Lord Jesus Christ will ask, "Why have you done this?" There is only one answer to this question which is justified by Holy Scripture: "We had to refuse pulpit and altar fellowship because we could not agree on the content of the gospel which, according to your commission, Lord, we are to proclaim to all peoples, nor could we agree on the administration of the sacraments which we are to dispense in accordance with your institution."

Whether or not churches are in agreement on the content of the gospel and on the administration of the sacraments is shown by the Confessions to which the pastors of the congregations must pledge themselves at ordination. By joining the Lutheran World Federation the member churches confirm that they are bound by the same Confessions. And yet there is no pulpit and altar fellowship among them all. This constitutes a problem which is certainly much more than an abstract, doctrinaire, theoretical problem. I admit that it might have been better had I formulated the theme of my essay: The Lutheran World Federation and the Ecclesiological Problem posed by the Relationship of the Lutheran Churches to One Another. But the formulation which I chose has

its own justification. The ecclesiological problem which is embedded in the mutual relationship between Lutheran churches also throws its shadow on the Lutheran World Federation; in fact, it is expressed in a very forceful manner in the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation in that the member churches, to be sure, acknowledge the same Confessions but, nevertheless, are hindered from consciously articulating the pulpit and altar fellowship which should follow from the acknowledgement of the Confessions. They are joined together only in a free association, a federation of churches. Something is not quite right here! Here, in terms of dogma, we have an ecclesiological anomaly. Here, in terms of ethics and paracesis, we find symptoms of a spiritual illness. The purpose of the third part of my essay was to call attention to this. The course of the discussion has not led me to believe that I was mistaken in this matter.

I hope with these remarks to have countered a misunderstanding which has arisen at various points. When I say that "churches which accept the same confessional obligation must, according to Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, also extend pulpit and altar fellowship to one another and thereby consummate church fellowship," then I am in no way saying that "these churches must merge into one single entity." Of this there can and should be no talk. The one thing which fundamentally concerns me is this, that churches, which mutually acknowledge that they have the same confessional obligation, should not refuse one another pulpit and altar fellowship, but should rather make a point of extending it to one another. I am convinced that a latent pulpit and altar fellowship exists between many, perhaps most, of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. It should not remain latent! It should be expressed in an authoritative manner and thus be incorporated into the legal structure of the member churches concerned. I am convinced that such a measure would be a decisive step forward for present-day Christianity.

Such a mutual granting of pulpit and altar fellowship would fulfil all that is *essential* for the visible realisation of the *unitas ecclesiae*. Out of this ground many fruits of the spirit will certainly grow, which will contribute to the common life of the individual churches. We need not here concern ourselves with the forms of brotherly fellowship and common practice which will develop from the realisation of pulpit and altar fellowship. The Holy Spirit will certainly show those churches, which know themselves to be firmly bound together in the sacrament of the altar, the concrete means and forms whereby this pulpit and altar fellowship can be *lived*.

In this context only one thing is of significance, that we recognise that, against the background of such a pulpit and altar fellowship, the spiritual urgency of the activities of the Lutheran World Federation would be recognised and confirmed anew, and they would certainly receive new spiritual impulses. What the Lutheran World Federation does would be in no way superfluous if its member churches had pulpit and altar fellowship with one another. On the contrary! Even a "free association" of churches, which I had portrayed as an ecclesiological

anomaly, could, providing that pulpit and altar fellowship were consummated, be a legitimate form in which a number of churches cooperate towards the realisation of certain objectives.

Therefore, I should now like to make a definite retraction. As is well known *retractiones* are not the least worthy forms in which theological work is carried on. My retraction concerns the conclusion of my essay, which consists of a quotation from Siegfried Grundmann's book on the Lutheran World Federation. I am in no way withdrawing my fundamental agreement with Grundmann's book. I still consider the basic thesis of this important work to be correct. That a lawyer and a theologian have reached essentially the same conclusion in their evaluation of the ecclesiological problem which the association of churches in the Lutheran World Federation presents is perhaps more than a superfluous observation, especially since the theologian is easily suspected of being trapped in his own logical system. Without damage to my basic agreement with Grundmann's book, I would, nevertheless, like to make an express retraction in regard to the quotation at the conclusion of my essay. There the fact is overlooked that pulpit and altar fellowship is already practised between many of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. Bishop Bo Giertz has made specific reference to this in his comments. This pulpit and altar fellowship between many of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, although to a large extent still latent, proves itself, in my opinion, to be a spiritual basis which is operative even in the present form of the Lutheran World Federation. The ecclesiological problem, which casts its shadow upon the Federation, is not thereby removed, but, in view of the pulpit and altar fellowship which is practiced between a large number of member churches, this shadow under which the Lutheran World Federation lives is no longer the shadow of death but the far-flung shadow of a large, extensive task, hovering not only over the member churches but over all other Lutheran churches as well.

On the Discussion of the Nature of the Lutheran World Federation

KURT SCHMIDT-CLAUSEN

THE PUBLICATION of an essay on the nature of the Lutheran World Federation and its subsequent discussion in the present issue of the LUTHERAN WORLD does not represent an undertaking which from the very beginning can count on ready understanding from all quarters. The question might be raised whether a discussion of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation is not perhaps idle self-reflection, whether, instead of this, attention should not be called to the more important tasks facing us in this troubled world.

It is certainly true that a discussion of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation which is based upon purely abstract speculation could constitute a serious danger. In actual fact, however, our discussion is prompted not by a desire to engage in speculation but by the direct and practical needs which arise out of the daily work of the Federation.

A comparatively young institution such as the Lutheran World Federation, which is entrusted with far-reaching and responsible tasks in many areas of the life of Lutheran churches, must continually question and be questioned as to whether its activity is always a relevant expression of those principles which called it into being. It could be the case that the actual work of the Federation might represent a false interpretation or even a denial of the principles set forth in the Constitution. In order to avoid this ever-present danger, it is necessary to raise the question concerning the nature of the Federation again and again so as to keep the real tasks and goals in proper perspective. Alongside of the need to critically define the nature of the Lutheran World Federation which grows out of the work of the Federation itself, there is a specific motive which has occasioned this discussion on the nature of the Federation. Since 1952 there has been a motion on the books, made by one of the member churches, for changes in the Constitution concerning the interpretation of membership in the Federation as well as the doctrinal basis of the Federation. The debate on these questions has shown that a very careful definition of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation is essential in order to relevantly discuss the proposed constitutional changes. For this reason the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Minneapolis issued the request that such a definition of the Lutheran World Federation be undertaken (see the proceedings of the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation: Recommendations of the Commission on Theology, No. 4, page 103; Constitution, page 157-162).

The question of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation is answered first of all in the Constitution itself. Its various sections offer a rather clear

definition of the nature of the Federation. Nevertheless, it appears at some points to be inadequate, as the essay by Professor Brunner suggests. The first question which faces us here is whether the Constitution really is inadequate. In order to be able to answer this question, it is necessary to ask what the Constitution actually says and what it does not say. In other words, we need a historical critical commentary to the Constitution. This would bring the historical background of the origin of the Constitution into closer perspective. Such a commentary would also clarify in what sense the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation differs from the constitutional documents of the Lutheran World Convention, the World Council of Churches, the individual Lutheran churches and the remaining confessional organizations, and in what sense it provides analogies to these others. Only through comparative studies can the specific character of the Federation's Constitution be delineated. Up to now, this task has not been approached with the necessary thoroughness. However, such a study is essential before one can be justified in declaring that the present Constitution is inadequate in one respect or another.

Subsequent to this task are several others, of which only a few of the most important can be mentioned here. A clarification of several specific concepts appears to be imperative, especially the concept "Federation." Is it permissible to interpret this important concept in the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation from a purely theological perspective? Does not such a directly theological interpretation of a Constitutional concept run the danger of missing the real intention of the Constitution itself, or of burdening it with an anthropocentric concept of the church which was never intended? The Constitution is not meant to give a theological definition; it attempts instead to describe a legal relationship, namely that covered by the term, "Federation." That this Federation, as a fellowship growing out of the Word of God, has its roots in theology is incontestable. However, this does not of necessity mean that these concepts which serve to define the legal reality of this world-wide Lutheran fellowship must be directly analogous to the theological description of this reality. The assertion that there is a direct analogy between juridical and theological thought-patterns is highly contestable. The church, which was instituted and which is preserved by Christ himself, does not necessarily lose its reality or its relationship with Christ simply because it must make use of the legal categories which apply to social institutions in order to define its character as an institution. On the other hand, a very anthropocentric concept of the church can be combined with a very centrally oriented or monarchical church order. To assert a direct legalistic correlation between law and theology on the basis of the principle of analogy is to unduly oversimplify the matter. On the other hand, no-one can close his eyes to the fact that the theological definition of the church bears a certain relationship to its legal order. This is also metaphorically true of a fellowship of churches such as the Federation presents. Yet, how can this relationship be factually described? For several years now the debate on ecclesiastical law

has turned on this question. Our problem depends to a large extent upon the clarification of this question. Before such clarity has been achieved, we should guard ourselves against interpreting a legal document such as the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation in an all too consequent and one-sidedly theological manner. The reality which the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation attempts to describe is complex. We must, therefore, guard against forcing an all-too simple interpretation upon it.

Furthermore, it would be helpful for our clarification of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation not to limit ourselves to the Constitutional documents. The Constitution may be compared to the skeleton of a body; the movements of the body are dependent on the skeleton. But no-one would maintain that the skeleton constitutes the whole body. Correspondingly, the Constitution does not represent the full life of the society for which it is written. In other words, to understand the nature of the Lutheran World Federation, the Constitution must always be seen against the background of the concrete, living reality of the various member churches. If we want to understand the Constitution in all its implications, it will be necessary to carefully analyze the nature of the individual member churches and to understand their individuality.

If we proceed in this way, a surprisingly complex and, in some respects, even confusing picture presents itself. This picture keeps us from attempting to cancel out by abstractions the reality which we encounter. All at once the Federation takes on life and color for the observer because it participates in the manifold expressions of the spiritual life and in the wealth of the theological traditions which obtain in the member churches. Thus one becomes aware of the full import of the astounding fact that here state churches and free churches, folk churches and minority churches, churches with episcopal order as well as those with synodical order are joined together in a fellowship of work and service (legally constituted), which at the same time is primarily a fellowship of the proclamation of the gospel.

The real meaning of this disparate fellowship of member churches which is the Lutheran World Federation is only seen when it is understood in terms of a family. The members of this family have lived in various parts of the world and have had differing experiences. But when they come together in this family circle, they realise that despite all these differences they share a common origin. This fact is essential for understanding the nature of the Lutheran World Federation. Be they independent or autonomous churches, they have one common origin, the Confessions. These two principles which we find embedded in the Constitution of the Lutheran World Federation, common Confessions and autonomy, may appear to be mutually contradictory, but they are not when this association of Lutheran churches is understood as a fellowship of members of the same family.

A more theoretical approach might see nothing special in this association of members of the same family. According to this view, the whole problem

might be reduced to a single sentence: as all these churches are bound to the same Confessions, constitutional differences are unimportant; moreover, the association of these Lutheran churches, whose order varies, is a normal occurrence. However, an approach of this kind is revealed as unrealistic when one considers the actual difficulties which a family encounters when trying to achieve peace and unanimity of action among its members. This is made more complicated by the infrequency with which the various members meet face to face. The individual members have so grown away from each other that they have difficulty in understanding each other, even though they are aware of their common origin. This coming together of member churches from various geographical, national, racial and cultural backgrounds into the Lutheran World Federation is marked by difficulty and tension. The so-called non-theological factors, geography, nationality, language, race and culture, mediated through specific historical events, have left their mark upon the life of the various member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, particularly as this is reflected in their orders and Constitutions. The differences in practice which have evolved thus represent a problem for every type of cooperation between the member churches which should not be underestimated. These differences assume a threatening, perhaps even a menacing, character in situations where the traditions of a member church have been transplanted to the mission field and there encounter other traditions, similarly transplanted. What advice should be given a church on the road to independence when, for example, it is faced with the question whether to adopt episcopal or synodical polity?

Imagine this kind of a situation in terms of a family. Older, travelled and experienced members of the family, who have not seen one another for many years and who have adopted differing customs, now attempt to give good advice to the younger members of this same family. This is only possible if they have again learnt to understand one another, have shared and compared their experiences with one another, and have combined that which has proved itself valuable in the lives of the various members into one common approach. Otherwise, they will merely confuse the younger member who is seeking advice. Have we already accomplished this task in the Lutheran World Federation? Have the various member churches of the Lutheran World Federation already become thoroughly re-acquainted, mutually exchanged experiences and adopted from one another that which has proved valuable in their individual lives? Have we progressed so far in our mutual understanding of one another's forms of life and church order that the certainty that we belong together powerfully outweighs everything divisive? Is the period behind us when, for instance, a Lutheran from a free church with synodical order and a president viewed another Lutheran as backward merely because he belonged to a church with bishops? Conversely, have we already passed through that particular epoch in which the members of state or folk-churches regarded the particular situation in which their free church Lutheran brethren lived as irreconcilable or even as sectarian? It would be easy to continue

this line of questioning and in the process we would be shocked into awareness of the extent to which we are still caught up in this epoch of misunderstanding. Those things which are supposedly "adiaphora," namely whether a church is a "state church," "free church," "folk church," "minority church," "church with episcopal order" or "church with non-episcopal order," prove themselves in the daily course of church life to be considerable obstacles to effective cooperation and mutual understanding. Here we are faced with an enormous task: far beyond the work which has already been accomplished, an extensive process of mutual exchange of information, experience and, above all, of personnel must take place between the various members of the Lutheran family.

It must be said that an exchange of this type is essential to the nature of the Lutheran World Federation, just as it is essential to a family that its members, who have been separated from one another for a long period of time, gradually grow together again, learn to understand one another anew and to acquire that which is good from one another, without surrendering the uniqueness of their own personalities. If our thesis is correct, that the Lutheran World Federation constitutes a family of "autonomous" churches, yet churches holding the same confessions, then this exchange and the gradual process of voluntary approximation, providing it does not degenerate into meaningless conformity or uniformity, is necessary to its very nature. The idea of stewardship plays an important role here. Stewardship is not merely a matter of the individual's service to his congregation, but, as is shown by the example of Lutheran World Service, it is also a matter of the relationship of the individual churches to one another and to their mutual tasks. The idea of stewardship must play a central role in a family; it is an element which is pertinent to the existence of the family. Is it right to be concerned about the "stewardship of money" while, however, forgetting to exercise stewardship over those other things which God has entrusted to us in abundance, such as our good experiences in the realms of theology and church order, in such a manner that others also profit from them? Conversely, is it responsible stewardship to ignore the rich treasures of theological experience and church practice of others, whose service could perhaps be important to us? Perhaps we lack exactly those things which they possess in such abundance and which they would gladly share with us. Should we in such instances pride ourselves on our autonomy?

In the context of this discussion a number of questions are raised for the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, the answers to which might be of importance for a definition of the nature of the Federation:

1. To what extent is a church, by virtue of its membership in the family of Lutheran churches, subject to the influence of the other members of this family when, for instance, adopting a constitution, opening a new mission field, or changing its form of government?

2. What is its reaction when, during the course of exchanging experience with other members of the family, a church becomes aware of the fact that certain

common principles of order, for example with respect to the practical value of independent over-congregational bodies, or with respect to the necessary parallelism between the form which the relationship between the ministry and the congregation takes on the local level on the one hand and the form which this relationship takes on the over-congregational level on the other hand, have proved to be appropriate to all concerned?

3. Ever member church belongs to a national committee. Is this structural principle merely geographical or does this concept of nationality imply something more for the church? Does it regard this breakdown by nationality as something more than a peripheral factor which is not essential to the nature of the church universal? Is it conceivable that a church might belong to more than one national committee since the geographical areas in which it works belong to various nations? How is this transnational character of the church, which implies at the same time the church's refusal to identify itself with the state, especially since this latter is often falsely accorded a religious character of its own, to find expression in terms of theology and of ecclesiastical law?

4. When a church is accepted into membership in the Lutheran World Federation, its "autonomy" is acknowledged. However, what else can autonomy mean but that a church is mature enough to be a member of the Lutheran family of churches? Can a church be regarded as mature according to the biblical understanding of the church, if it interprets its autonomy solely in terms of isolationism, self-sufficiency and exclusiveness, without acknowledging its dependence upon the other member churches either in its constitution or in its theology?

5. Can a church express its membership in the Lutheran family in such a way that this family is regarded not as a final goal in itself but as one part of the church universal? Is it possible for a church so to live in the give-and-take of the Lutheran family that it at the same time makes a genuine and not merely a token contribution to the cause of mutual understanding within the ecumenical church?

All of these questions demand answers. A great many answers from the life of the member churches will be necessary before we are in a position to recognize the major features which are essential to the understanding of the nature of the Lutheran World Federation. In other words, this is a task which is very urgent, but which at the same time we know cannot be accomplished within the next two or three years. It should be clear that we are dealing here, not with a peripheral question, but with a problem which is central to the life of the Lutheran World Federation. For this reason, therefore, the cooperation of many is both necessary and desired.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

Theology

Between Minneapolis and Helsinki

PERHAPS THE MEETING of the Commission on Theology, which took place August 15-21, 1960 in Osnabrück, can best be characterized by the fact that it marked the half-way point between two Assemblies. This is illustrated in that attention shifted from post-Minneapolis studies to preparing the theme for the Helsinki assembly. In addition, however, this meeting between the Assemblies was marked by an inner continuity. As Dr. Vilmos Vajta, Director of the Department of Theology, said in his annual report, the purpose of this meeting could not be to raise new questions and to embark on new tasks but simply to continue and to deepen the discussion on those questions posed by past meetings at Oslo, 1958, and Amsterdam, 1959. It is however precisely this continuity of work which gave to this meeting, by far the longest and most fruitful of all those held by the Commission on Theology, its unique character. Certainly all the participants had the pleasant feeling that, unhampered by differences of theological background, they were united into a close-knit working fellowship centering on one common goal. In this connection it should specially be mentioned that this feature of fellowship was underscored by the fact that worship played a significant part at the meeting. Matins and Vespers were held daily in St. Mary's Church, Osnabrück and on the final Sunday Dr. Kantonen (Springfield, Ohio) preached at the worship service of the local congregation.

The sessions, under the chairmanship of Professor Ernst Kinder (Münster), centered on the continuing study of the Lutheran doctrine of justification. Professor Regin Prenter (Aarhus) gave a systematic theologian's evaluation of the exegetical discussion

on this theme which was carried on at the Amsterdam meeting. In his opening remarks he called for stronger theological cooperation between exegetes and systematic theologians, for the proper interpretation of Scripture can only occur in the Church through the mutual confrontation of the historical-critical approach of the exegete and the dogmatic approach of the systematic theologian. Professor Prenter then asserted that as far as the doctrine of justification is concerned there are, to be sure, a few important differences between modern exegesis and that of the Reformation, such as in the question of the relationship between baptism and forgiveness of sins or the relationship between the certainty of justification and the certainty of salvation; these are, however, differences of emphasis which should not be over-exaggerated. Above all, Paul should not be interpreted from too anti-Lutheran a perspective as is often the case in modern exegesis in that his statements on the once-for-all character of the forgiveness of sins in baptism is too strongly absolutized. In contrast it must be emphasized that the New Testament links the forgiveness of sins for those baptized with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

At any rate it is precisely the field of exegesis itself that challenges Lutheran theology to a reconsideration of the significance of the doctrine of justification. This should take neither the form of a systematic principle, with the help of which one could differentiate between that which is essential to the Christian faith and that which is merely temporarily conditioned, the "mythological," nor the emphasis upon one part of the total body of doctrine for certain polemical reasons. In contrast, the truly "catholic" significance of the doctrine of justification must be recovered anew. To this end it must be freed from a false spiritualization and individualization and be considered anew in its ecclesiological breadth. "It is important to determine whether the question, How can I acquire God's grace? is really the basic question of all theology."

The further addresses on the theme of the doctrine of justification came from the realm of the history of dogma. Professor G. A. Lindbeck (Yale University) and Professor Ernst Kinder (Münster, Westphalia) spoke on the soteriological motives of the ancient creeds. They also were concerned to show the relationship between the doctrine of justification and the remaining doctrines of the church. In contrast to the frequently stated opinion that the Reformation maintained the ancient christological dogma for political reasons only, they showed that the doctrine of justification is thoroughly rooted in the christology of the ancient church. It is based on the ontological statements of ancient christology and serves to explicate them.

Both speakers emphasized that ancient christological dogma does not constitute, as for instance Harnack has maintained, a falsification of the Gospel through the introduction of Greek terminology and cosmic speculation, but that it must be understood as an answer to the soteriological question. The statement "God became man in Christ" is expounded here and the Reformation doctrine of justification belongs in this chain of exposition. To be sure, a concentration on the personal reconciliation of man with God occurs here which, nevertheless, exists through the objective reality of the Christ event. Therefore the Lutheran doctrine of justification cannot be isolated in an actualistic and personalistic sense.

In the discussion which followed particular attention was paid to the question of the interpretation of the gospel by means of terminologies which differ from one another and are influenced by contemporary conditions. The concern here was not merely with Hebraic thought (the *Heilsgeschichte*) and Greek philosophy, but in a wider sense with the significance of philosophical categories for theology as such. In this connection special interest was aroused by the thesis presented by Professor Brunner (Heidelberg), according to which neither nominalistic nor existentialistic categories are suited to the gospel but only those of a realism which is based on the realism of God's creative act and the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Since man is created by God, he is not free to make his decisions independently.

Two further addresses provided an opportunity to view this topic from the perspective of the theology of the Middle Ages. Pro-

fessor Skydsgaard (Copenhagen) spoke on the doctrine of justification in Thomas Aquinas. He pointed out that Thomas was first and foremost a theologian. As with many other great theologians, however, he also reached the point where his philosophical presuppositions got the upper hand in his system. His theology is primarily concerned with man; he saw much more clearly than did any theologians before him, including Augustine, the independence of man and sought to do justice to it, whereby, however, he did not take seriously enough the nature of sin as revolt against God. In contrast to him, Luther possessed a much stronger understanding of reality. Thomas sees the eternal already present here in the harmony of nature and grace, while Luther still yearns after it. But is Thomas right? In his address on the "Presuppositions for Luther's Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of the Late Middle Ages" Dr. Hägglund (Lund) traced the theological background of Luther's development. He attempted a more positive interpretation than is usual to Luther's relationship to German mysticism, above all to Tauler and the *theologica germanica*. The second portion of his address treated of Luther's controversy with the nominalism of Ockham and Biel and, above all, with the doctrine of justification which these represent.

In the coming year the studies on justification will be continued through addresses and treatises on the doctrine of justification of the Council of Trent on the one hand and Lutheran orthodoxy on the other. Above all the question to be discussed is to what extent the Lutheran theologians of the Sixteenth Century and especially Martin Chemnitz were correct in their controversy with the Tridentine Formula.

It was mutually agreed that the results of this study should not be limited to a small circle of theologians, but that they should be made available to the life of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. Alongside of the publication of some of the more important studies a summary of some of the results in the form of a critical commentary to Article IV of the Augsburg Confession, which will be presented to the next Assembly, was planned. This should make clear that the discussions on the doctrine of justification deal with the very center of the Lutheran Confessions. When the Commission on Theology at Minneapolis was commissioned to study this theme, it was done with the

intention that it might represent a first step towards a re-thinking of the position of the Confessions in the Lutheran churches of today.

Therefore it is consequent upon this study of justification that the Commission on Theology should at the same time investigate the authority and place of the Confessions in the various member churches. A number of reports of this type again appeared this year. Professor Jacob Kumaresan (Madras, India) presented a report by Dr. Estborn (Madras) on the importance of the Confessions in the Lutheran Churches of India. This illustrated the fact that the Lutheran Churches in India, like other of the younger churches, although they have given formal allegiance to the authority of the Confessions, have nevertheless only partially succeeded in translating them into the lives of their congregations. Other reports included one by Dr. Robert H. Fischer (Chicago Lutheran Seminary) on the "Lutheran Churches of German Background in the United States of America" and one by Dr. Eugen Fiebold (Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota) on the "American Churches of Scandinavian Background." Further studies on other churches are planned, above all on the churches of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. The ultimate goal is that these studies be compiled and published.

This year's meeting devoted a great deal of time to the liturgical study-program of the Commission, which was represented by Professor Christhard Mahrenholz (Hannover) as well as by liturgical scholars from various lands. The address on the theme "The Crisis of Piety," by Dr. Helge Brattgard (Göteborg) was significant as a basic statement outlining the future liturgical work of the Lutheran World Federation. The purpose here is to avoid being bogged down in liturgical details and to make an attempt to delineate the place of the liturgical acts of worship life, in the existence of the individual Christian and congregation, and thus to lay the corner-stone for a "theology of spiritual life." Dr. Brattgard first of all sketched the reasons behind the crisis of piety which is almost universally visible today even among church people. Sharing responsibility for this along with the breakthrough of the secular world into the inner life of man is the lack of a *theologia vitae spiritualis* in Lutheran theology as well as the all-pervading uncertainty with regard to ecclesiological problems. All present-day

solutions, such as the modernisation of pietism or the synthesis of pietism and High-Church-manship, will inevitably fail, in his opinion, so long as the personal piety of the Christian is not in principle ecclesiologically determined. An organic relationship must be found between worship services and daily family and professional life.

A few years ago the Commission on Theology sent questionnaires to member churches for the purpose of collecting information on the liturgical traditions in practice. At the same time Books of Worship, hymn books and other liturgical literature were collected. Professor Ake Andrén (Uppsala) reported on the results of the evaluation of this material carried on in one of his seminars. This report showed profound differences alongside of lines of development common to all Lutheran churches. The picture was rendered even more confusing by the fact that in a number of churches there exists a considerable divergence between the prescribed orders of worship and the forms that are actually used in the congregations. The Commission came to the conclusion that the next step beyond mere statistical compilations must be to select certain main points for future study. Four points which were given consideration were

- a) the place of the Words of Institution at the Lord's Supper, especially in regard to their significance in the act of Consecration
- b) the view of Confirmation in the various member churches (there are three main views in the various churches: Confirmation as an examination at the conclusion of religious instruction, Confirmation as admittance to the Lord's Supper, and finally Confirmation as an act of blessing and the laying on of hands)
- c) the significance of benedictions and blessings
- d) the office of the ministry and ordination.

In the discussions on liturgical questions the necessity for a re-thinking of the liturgical position of the Lutheran Church was emphasized. It was generally agreed that Luther's critical writings are not the final authoritative word on this point. It is much more important that we, through the statements of the Lutheran Confessions on worship, recover the rich heritage of worship of the whole Christian church.

As always the Commission's scholarship and research program was of special significance. Once again, the Director of the Depart-

ment of Theology reported on the increased growth and extension of this program. The budget for 1959/60 included an amount of almost \$40,000 for various research purposes. Twenty-one young theologians from various countries were given scholarships to theological faculties and seminaries of other churches. The growing interest of American theologians in overseas scholarships of the Lutheran World Federation was particularly welcomed. Furthermore, a number of visiting professors was provided for theological schools in the younger churches. It is planned during the coming years to grant a number of research scholarships for the purpose of furthering such scholarly studies as lie within the realm of the theological task of the Lutheran World Federation. Apart from this, increased contributions were made to the cost of publishing Luther's works in Japan and Pakistan.

Quite naturally, considerable interest was aroused by the continuation of the discussion begun in past years on the nature of the Lutheran World Federation. Dr. Vajta presented comments on this topic by leading theologians and church leaders, which were collected during the past year. This gave evidence, as expected, of the importance of this question not only to the Lutheran World Federation but to the relationship of the various Lutheran churches to one another. Professor Peter Brunner, who last year gave an address entitled "The Lutheran World Federation as an Ecclesiological Problem," was given an opportunity to comment on the course of the debate. Details of the discussion are not given here, since the most important comments are published in the main article section of the issue.

Professor Skydsgaard's report in his capacity as Research Professor for Inter-Confessional Research in the Lutheran World Federation was especially welcomed. He reported on his activities to date and primarily on his experiences and impressions following a prolonged stay in Rome. He stressed the necessity for the Lutheran Church to follow carefully the preparations being made for the Ecumenical Council called by the Roman Church. To be sure, in his opinion, discussions with Rome will involve a number of difficulties and yet the Lutheran churches must be ready to react to the situation which will develop from the Council.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this report, all of the discussions at Osnabrück

were colored by plans for the coming Assembly. Thus some important suggestions were made with regard to the theme for Helsinki. In keeping with the main study project the Assembly should also center on the message of justification: not only as a theological truth or a doctrinal statement, but also as a reality which frees the Christian for action and service in this world. Along with this the worship services should play an essential role at Helsinki. At the coming meeting of the Commission, which will take place in Helsinki in August 1961, preparations will already be made for the worship services and devotions of the Assembly in cooperation with representatives of the Church of Finland.

JÜRGEN ROLOFF.

Luther and Melancthon

The Second International Congress for Luther Research, Münster

THE WAY in which a research congress begins in no way predicates the results which it may eventually produce. Similarly, neither the ready acceptance with which the reports on the present status of Luther research were received, nor the desire of the participants at that first congress to continue working together gave any positive indication of the course which Luther research would take in the future. Since the end of this second congress, however, it can be maintained, with due reserve, that this research project, which was initiated and sponsored by the Commission on Theology, has produced important suggestions in the major areas of research on the Reformation.

In contrast to the first congress of four years ago, which was concerned with a general survey and with specific central topics such as Luther's understanding of the Scriptures, his doctrines of salvation and of the church, the second congress concentrated on the main theological content of the Reformation—Luther's doctrines of faith and of justification. Contributing to this main theme were studies in the field of Melancthon research and general historical research on the Reformation period and the influence of the Reformers.

Certainly, the scope of the discussions was determined to a great extent by the prevailing interest in Melanchthon and the concern for more general rather than specifically theological problems regarding the history of the Reformation. This is shown by the reports taken individually. And if this side of the congress' work amounted to something more than a mere fumbling attempt, it is because certain of the addresses produced insights of real importance far beyond the realm of specialized Luther research.

Among the addresses of more general interest, were those by PAUCK (New York) on "Luther and Melanchthon," which introduced the special concern of this congress at the formal opening session in the Aula, and the very fruitful one by GRIMM (Ohio) on Luther's and Melanchthon's relationships to the populace. Both essays dealt with biographical studies of Melanchthon, who was one of the main teachers of the Reformation, as well as of Luther. Pauck very capably traced in detail both the basic differences of character and the mutual co-operation which marked the two men. He dealt here with the Humanism which Melanchthon represented, a Humanism whose thought patterns were closely allied with Erasmian Humanism and for which Luther always had a high regard, the goals of Melanchthon's Humanism, the friendship of the two Reformers, and also the concern which Melanchthon caused Luther. One of the most stimulating addresses of the congress was that by Grimm, who pointed out a very genuine problem and, at the same time, attempted to fill the gap. The problem of the way in which the Reformation is to be interpreted in terms of sociology and the history of sociology, a problem with which H. von Schubert was concerned in his day, was revived by Grimm in a through-going manner. Although the non-religious motives played a secondary role in the development of the Reformation itself, nevertheless the political, cultural, social and economic factors were of decisive significance in its extension. Grimm's address is of special significance precisely because very little attention has been given during the last ten years to the influence of the various social groups, particularly the burghers, on the Reformation. He refers not only to the complex situations in the German cities, to the personal relationships which existed between Luther and Melanchthon and various cities, to the Reformation events which oc-

curred in them, and to individual leading figures among the townspeople (such as Jacob Sturm, Lazarus Spengler, Pirckheimer, Holzshuher, Ebner, Nützel, among others), but also to the influence which the Reformers exerted upon a host of economic, cultural, juridical and social questions upon which they were asked to express an opinion by the cities, and to the many factors arising from their backgrounds which influenced the views of Luther and Melanchthon. Despite numerous other factors, the Christian ethic exercised a profound effect upon the total process and the proclamation of the Gospel predominated in such a manner that none of the social classes were granted precedence over others.

BARTEL (Warsaw), SÓLYOM (Budapest), whose address was read for him, and TAPPERT (Philadelphia) reported on the influence of the Reformers in the lands from which these speakers came. The latter two limited themselves to Melanchthon's influence, in view of the 400th anniversary of his death. An interesting address from the stand-point of the history of culture was that by THULIN (Wittenberg) on Melanchthon's portrait and work in the art of his day.

FRAENKEL (Geneva), who also attempted to fill a gap in contemporary research, dealt with a topic of great importance in the history of dogma. One of the essential points at which Luther and Melanchthon differ is the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless many questions can be raised regarding Melanchthon's later view of the Lord's Supper. One can scarcely find Melanchthon's doctrine of the Lord's Supper more accurately defined than in essays by Bossuet (17th century) and Herrlinger (19th century). It is not sufficient merely to accuse Melanchthon of such vagueness that everyone can interpret his statements on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as he will. Fraenkel investigates Bossuet's accusation of vagueness. In so doing he goes back from Melanchthon's final statements in the later *Loci* to his earlier ones, wherein Fraenkel sees a close relationship to a particular patristic approach. Melanchthon's motivating interest, i.e. his concentration on the development rather than on the thing itself, appears to have influenced his statements on the Lord's Supper; thus he cited the Church Fathers, especially Hilary and Chrysostom, by whom he was influenced. As is well known, Oekolampadius played an important role in Melanchthon's

thought. Methodically and cautiously Fraenkel outlined the main features of Melanchthon's understanding of the Lord's Supper. The way to this understanding had already been paved earlier and it involves concepts such as the "*exhibere*" which also occurs in the Wittenberg Formula of Concord. Fraenkel views Melanchthon's desire to uphold the accepted doctrines of the Church Fathers as a constitutive element in his later doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In condensed manner he describes it as "a functional doctrine of the Lord's Supper." Without describing in detail the relationship between the body and blood of Christ and the elements, Melanchthon regards the Lord's Supper to be the Eucharistic presence of Christ, an act in which the true body and blood of Christ are dispensed to us and in which Christ gives of himself through the performance of this sacramental act. Melanchthon speaks of a process rather than of a thing. The basis for his later view of the Lord's Supper, which appears to be so "ambiguous," lies not in uncertainty and hesitation about a tendency towards unification and catholicity born of anxiety, but stems from influences earlier than those of Oekolampadius together with a view-point conditioned by the patristic approach. He believed it possible to avoid controversy on the question of the Lord's Supper since Luther's doctrine of the real presence was identical with that of the Fathers. This is particularly interesting in that the roots of Melanchthon's view, namely that the real presence lies in the act itself and that this agrees with the Scriptures and Fathers, are traced back by Fraenkel to 1524, i.e. to the earliest phase in the controversy on the Lord's Supper, where Melanchthon is definitely in agreement with Luther's doctrine. It goes without saying that Fraenkel's address will meet with great interest beyond the congress itself.

The foregoing dealt with a specifically theological topic. In his study of Luther's and Melanchthon's critique of monasticism, LOHSE (Hamburg) treated a primarily historical topic, but yet one of considerable theological significance. The importance to Luther's development of the Order to which he belonged and its theology can be considered from a variety of angles. Lohse expounded the position of the two Reformers during the years 1518 to 1521 on the question of monastic vows and the value of celibacy. Certainly these questions constitute too small

a basis from which to make a judgment about a positive relationship between Luther's development and monasticism. Melanchthon's understanding of freedom is interesting; it represents a view of Christian freedom which Lohse finds first subscribes to a determinism of events and effect, is then influenced greatly by Luther's views and finally, though it comes close to Luther's view, never completely comprehends his dialectic of freedom and service.

One inexhaustible major topic for Luther research is the doctrine of justification and the attendant problems of faith, law and the gospel which are so deeply bound up with it. Due to his death, the congress had to forego the main address on Luther's doctrine of the law and gospel by Hans Iwand, whom it highly honors. Thus the opening note of this central theological theme was sounded by OLSSON (Uppsala) in his address on Luther's doctrine of the law. In Luther's theology, the theological concept of law covers equally his doctrines of the original state, the fall, new life and eternal life. The law teaches us what we are, namely created in God's image, and what we should be: what we are not now but should be! Furthermore, the law teaches us what we shall be, for, according to Luther, the new life is the beginning of the fulfilment of the law, which will be complete in the eternal life where man shall be one with God's will. Olsson further dealt with the relationship between the Old and New Testament understandings of the law, the interpretation according to human reason and the merely moralistic understanding of the law, as well as with the deeper and more genuine understanding of the law which goes far beyond the mere *visibilia*. He also dealt with the epistemological presupposition of Luther's doctrine of the law and finally with the problem of reward and punishment. BRING (Lund) stressed the complexity of Luther's theology in contrast to that of Thomas and Melanchthon. In Luther's thought the simplest ideas exist alongside of the most difficult. The simplest is the most difficult. Luther never gave a clear, rational explanation of the law of God. The law is always bound up with the hiddenness of God even before the Fall. We cannot really see what is behind the law. The law makes demands, but what the law really intends must be revealed to us.

Bring stressed these points in order to emphasize the relationship between law and

gospel and to show that Luther never held a doctrine of the law independent of the gospel. In order to understand Luther on one point or the other, one must completely understand his central doctrine of justification. Luther cannot be understood by isolating individual statements. Luther's unsystematic manner, which is from time to time criticized, derives from his realistic approach to reality. Precisely because Luther's thought constitutes a whole, and because he possessed a strong, intuitive ability to see reality as it is, his thoughts are realistic and superior to all theories which seek to press reality into a system. A rationalistic and systematic approach truncates reality, if it does not even by-pass it altogether. Thus BIZER's (Bonn) study on "Humility, Faith and Justification" in Luther's lectures on Romans is on the right track in its attempt to trace Luther's theological development in terms of the criteria of historical and literary criticism. He combines interpretations of specific concepts in the lectures with his previously stated thesis on Luther's discovery of the righteousness of God. He rejects the interpretation which is identified particularly with Holl and he describes Luther's lectures on Romans as pre-Reformation. It is not merely the ambiguity of Luther's language which leads Bizer to this conclusion. Here Luther still in effect holds the concept of *justitia Dei formalis*. Not faith, but the theology of humility is the dominant theme in Luther's early works; it is humility which God recognizes. However, if humility is one's only consolation, then one must despair, for humility, the moment it becomes conscious of itself, becomes nothing else but pride. This could only have dawned upon Luther after he had clarified his own theology, namely justification by faith alone. Bizer dates this in the period following 1517.

Bizer's statements aroused the most lively differences of opinion of the whole congress. BORNKAMM (Heidelberg) expressed his opinion on the ever-recurring question as to where Luther's Reformation consciousness actually sets in. The strict differentiation between Reformation and pre-Reformation is of a much more problematic nature than the investigation of the *justitia Dei* in Luther's thought. Luther certainly did not discover God's grace in the gospel for the very first time in 1518. One must guard against isolating certain concepts in Luther's earlier works. Luther's earlier views can in no way

be described as a theology of humility. Starting with the exegesis of individual points which Bizer had introduced, HERMANN (Berlin) and RÜCKERT (Tübingen) drew conclusions which differed from those of Bizer. Bizer's reply admitted the necessity for further research in this area, especially since the complexity of Luther's development has not yet been fully grasped and because the sermons dating from the period in question portray a completely different Luther from the traditional one pictured in literature.

In complementary lectures on Luther's doctrine of justification itself, STUPPERICH (Münster) and HAIKOLA (Helsinki) compared this doctrine in both Luther and Melancthon. Referring to the judgment made by Bucer, one of Luther's contemporaries that "No-one since the Apostles had so clearly and faithfully taught the doctrine of justification," Stupperich concentrated on the mature form of the article on justification in Luther's thought. The cooperation between Luther and Melancthon in the 30's gives evidence of the influence which Melancthon exerted upon his theological teacher, with whom he shared an almost continual exchange of ideas ever since Luther's earliest formulations of his theology. Stupperich attempts to indicate at what points Luther adopted changes or at least clarifications which were suggested by Melancthon. Stupperich's line of thought, based on various aspects throughout the history of the Reformation and expressing a concept of doctrine hammered out in the course of repeated discussion, was followed by Haikola's address which constituted a systematic comparison of Luther's and Melancthon's understanding of justification. He starts with an analysis of Christendom as it is understood in terms of various definitions of the Law. In contrast to Luther, Melancthon views the Law as an eternal, universal and objective order (*lex aeterna*). Each therefore ascribes a different function to Christ as fulfiller of the Law. Haikola derives this from a detailed investigation of the place accorded to Christ's work of reconciliation in Luther and Melancthon.

Our report, to be sure, can only trace the main features of the important addresses by the two last-mentioned speakers. Unfortunately we cannot report in detail on the discussions which followed either, except to mention the two main criticisms, which were those made by HÄGGLUND (Lund), who questioned whether such a sharp distinction

between Luther's and Melancthon's views on the Law is legitimate, and by SOMMERLATH (Leipzig), who questioned whether a narrow, modern concept of justification really constitutes a legitimate point of departure. Furthermore, DANTINE's (Vienna) question, whether both of these objections did not themselves suffer from not sufficiently viewing the doctrine of justification in terms of Christ himself, must also be mentioned here.

If it is felt that such basic reflection on the concerns of the Reformation is both theologically important and necessary to the present church situation, then the presentation of the controversy between Luther and his Catholic opponent Latomus by HERMANN (Berlin) can well be regarded as in some way rounding out the conference. He relates his precise exegesis of Isaiah 64, (4)5-(11)12 to other pertinent theological interpretations deriving from Augustine and the Scholastics. The problem dealt with here is man's sinful nature. Hermann's ability to state Luther's approach to this problem in contemporary terms is shown by the following statement: "The individual, even the Christian, stands in some relationship to God, everywhere and at all times." Under the doctrine of God's wrath and God's grace, Luther interprets sin as a consequence of God's wrath, a situation which precludes righteousness. It is present, but under God's wrath it is "unproductive." This interpretation of Isaiah 64, which does not appear to be compatible with the Hebrew text, causes Hermann to investigate the problem in terms of Eccl. 7, (20)21 and Proverbs 24, 16, the passages with which Luther and Latomus worked, and to subject the principle of *sola scriptura* to critical reflection.

The congress concluded with a short report on the Weimar edition followed by a study of Luther's interpretation of the apocalyptic elements in the Bible. This involved the question of Luther's eschatology. QUANBECK (St. Paul, Minnesota) accomplished this by reference to the literary, historical and theological aspects of Luther's method of exegesis. The fact that Luther lacked essential knowledge of the literary forms of apocalypticism (due to the age in which he lived) caused him some embarrassment. He attempted to treat these as prophetic predictions, and yet he was not fully convinced of this position. He would have preferred to by-pass the whole thing; but forced to deal with it, he took refuge in interpreting it along other lines. His eschatology relates to

the near return of Christ. It is not biblicistic but theo-centric and Christo-centric.

The second International Luther Research Congress, which met in the newly reconstructed main building of the university of Münster under the direction of Professor Dr. KOOIMAN (Amsterdam), who was elected President in Aarhus, adjourned until 1964. Possible sites for the congress are the USA and England; an invitation has been received from the University of Cambridge.

This second gathering of Luther scholars was also marked by scholarly independence and by a willingness to exercise criticism and to learn. The President of the Lutheran World Federation, Dr. FRANKLIN CLARK FRY, who honored the congress with his presence and gave the welcoming address, did not emphasize in vain the independence of the congress and the necessity that it go its own way: "We respect its independence from the Lutheran World Federation." Universality was the keynote of the congress and its work. The unanimously approved concluding report addressed to the Lutheran World Federation rightly emphasized the strong sense of Christian fellowship which was felt: "At the conclusion of the Second International Congress for Luther Research, which took place in Münster from August 8-12, 1960, we, nearly one hundred participants from all over the world, are unanimous in expressing our appreciation for the stimulation and the worthwhile challenges to our work which the addresses and discussions of this week provided. It gave opportunity to establish personal contact and to exchange opinions as well as to renew and to deepen contacts already made at Aarhus. Despite differences of nation and continent, church and confession, we were united by the ecumenical significance of Luther's theology and the theology of the Reformation. Through our mutual exchange of questions and the results of our research and through the various presentations of the problems and their possibilities for interpretation, the wealth and the depth of the Lutheran heritage was opened up to us anew."

HORST BEINTKER

World Mission

Antsirabé Reflections

ONE-HUNDRED EIGHTY DELEGATES, representing Lutheran Churches in some nine African countries, as well as churches and missions in Europe and the United States of America, were brought together for the Second All-Africa Lutheran Conference. Held at Antsirabé, Madagascar, from September 8-18, under the timely theme, "JESUS CHRIST, THE WAY, THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE," this second meeting of members of the Lutheran household in Africa issued from the desire for the same expressed five years ago at the Marangu Conference.

From Marangu to Antsirabé

Five years in God's economy may be as one day or many, but either way half a decade is an important segment of time. The five years between the first All-Africa Lutheran Conference held at Marangu, Tanganyika, and the Second Conference, recently held in Madagascar, have been years of great importance and tremendous change, both for the continent of Africa and for the churches within her borders. Even as the map of Africa showed political changes, so also were the churches engaged in charting newer and clearer roads on their own maps of constitutional autonomy and responsibility. Some have also straightened out crooked trails of uncertainty regarding the Christian's duty and responsibility in the affairs of his country as they affect the life and welfare of his fellow men. The Lutheran Churches in Africa mapped another new road in theological training with the opening of the All-Africa Theological Seminar. This two-year course, sponsored by the Department of World Mission of the Lutheran World Federation, scheduled to be completed at the end of this year, is an experimental road, and it is hoped that the traffic it has borne—seventeen students from six countries of Africa—will help reveal the final direction the more permanent highway will take.

One weakness of the period of map-making since Marangu was the lack of sharing of experiences along the way. Somehow a road should have been charted that would

have kept us in closer contact and fellowship as we sought the guidance of the Lord regarding roads which were high priority in the present progress of the Church in Africa.

Hence it has been good to meet again to compare maps and to seek further guidance and mutual encouragement.

All Africa

The place of the Conference could not have been better, nor its timing more propitious. Madagascar has not regarded herself as part of Africa. Ethnically, linguistically, politically and commercially she has few significant contacts with Africa. But in the Lutheran household there is a spiritual affinity and unity that forbids the use of the term, "ALL AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR." And in the realm of newly emergent nations, and even geographically, there is much to be said for the "ALL AFRICA" emphasis.

In many respects 1960 may well select Africa as the "Continent of the Year," for it has witnessed no less than seven countries achieve independence. Since the Marangu Conference there have been some thirteen new nations born on this continent. And others continue to elbow one another for standing room before the door of political freedom.

A Wind of Change

In attempting to check the pulse of the Second All-Africa Lutheran Conference, it is impossible to disregard the significance of the political situation. One speaker referred to British Prime Minister Macmillan's statement regarding "a wind of change sweeping across the continent of Africa." From the keynote address to the findings of the Resolutions Committee, the Conference was reminded again and again of the opportunities and responsibilities facing the churches during these singularly significant times. African freedom can and will help the spread of the Gospel, but the churches must proclaim and practice being "salt" and "light" in and through the lives of their entire constituency.

The work of the Lutheran Churches in Madagascar was paid high tribute by the President of the new Republic, the Mayor of the Conference city, Antsirabé, and other leaders. One non-Lutheran speaker at the Conference challenged the churches to bear strong witness to the vital role of Christianity

in all phases of development in Africa; that the "wind of change" may have also the power of the Spirit of God, whose will it is that the poor hear the good news, the captives receive release, the blind have their sight restored and that all witness the proclamation of the acceptable year of the Lord. If Christians remain outside and aloof then others, *without* light, will step in!

Freedom and Fellowship

At Marangu there was a hesitancy on the part of many of the African delegates to speak freely in the presence of their European brethren. A separate session of only Africans was requested and held. This hesitancy was not present at Antsirabé; fear was gone and freedom of expression was clear, even on the touchy issue of racial discrimination and the matter of the prolonged silence of Lutheran Church leaders in areas where Government practices are avowedly and incontestably discriminatory.

In the meeting of the Steering Committee, Europeans were urged by Africans to speak up both in study groups and plenary sessions. The fact that much of the final wording or phrasing of the resolutions and findings bore an "European" mark, is not a contradiction of this spirit of freedom, for the thinking was primarily African. We were all Lutherans and partners, each one making a significant, though not identical, contribution as problems were faced together.

Marangu was perhaps a deeper emotional and spiritual experience for many. It was the first time African Lutherans had been brought out of isolation to meet each other. Antsirabé was like a "homecoming" to those who had been at Marangu. And we can rightfully expect that the follow-up of *how* we can in *deeper partnership and sharing* carry out the great commission will not be left to wither and die in the statements and resolutions of Antsirabé, as was the case regarding many of the Marangu pronouncements.

Free time between sessions, visits to important centers, sharing pulpit and pew with Malagasy Lutherans and others, were a very important part of the Conference. Delegates and visitors became better acquainted during these extra-session hours of informal sharing than at the plenary itself.

The Tea given by the Mayor of the host city (he is also an M.D. in the local Lutheran hospital) produced a delicious variety of

pastries prepared by some of the local ladies, and an All-Conference Dinner given by the Antsirabé Lutheran congregation was a dietary and fellowship highlight.

One place where one sensed a lack of freedom was in the daily Bible study and prayer hour. There was, I believe, more sharing of spiritual experience and prayer at Marangu, and this perhaps issued from the study and discussion of "revival in the Church." It may be well to stand humbly before this whole matter, and ask whether we, as Lutherans, have an adequate understanding of and appreciation for true spiritual revival in the Church. Why is spiritual uncertainty so alarmingly common among our people? Should not spiritual certainty, on the matter of our *chief concern in life*, be one of the first fruits of faith? Has the Word-grounded and Lutheran-expounded teaching of a daily experience of sin and grace, of repentance and renewal been forgotten or lost? Has this experience which ought to be the norm become so *rare* and *peculiar* that only the revivalists have it as an integral part of their emphasis? Why the tremendously wide-spread spiritual anemia and constant defeat in the lives of our people? Why are they not living on the Word as part of *daily bread*? These questions warrant constant and prayerful consideration when viewing other aspects of the Christian life such as stewardship, evangelism, discipline and soul-care.

Problems and Prospects

Any attempt to reflect on the Antsirabé Conference would be incomplete if we did not note some of the matters that received the attention of those present.

Problems facing the younger churches are legion, and hence any once-in-five-years conference faces the prospect of being too broad and too shallow. A score of problems were shared in the ten Discussion Groups and three main Study Sections. More time could have been profitably spent on some of the crucial issues in the churches' life and program. In looking ahead to the next conference it may be advisable to narrow the field and go deeper, taking enough time to wrestle through to more light if not victory.

The following are noted briefly, as being among the more significant problems and prospects faced by the Conference:

I. Youth

Youth movements in the political sphere have today turned governments "upside down" and in some instances driven them out completely. This potential may be used for good and must be utilized in our churches where we have largely failed to show the place and importance of youth. The Conference requested a continent-wide survey of youth problems and needs, via regional study conferences on youth work "to deal with the immediate and urgent needs facing our ministry to young people" and "to make the careful recruitment and systematic training of youth leaders in congregations an item of top priority in their basic program for youth." The churches were also urged to provide funds for the establishment of Christian Youth Centers in cities, and for an effective ministry to students in higher educational institutions.

II. Unity

Although the delegates were reminded that because of our heritage Lutherans must be "the most ecumenically minded denomination of all," it was also pointed out that church union should be much deeper than on an organizational basis. Because the churches would be facing this issue the Conference, therefore, drew "the attention of the Regional Study Committees to the necessity of considering and formulating what the Lutheran Churches of Africa deem to be an essential doctrinal basis for church union."

III. Stewardship and Discipline

Stewardship includes all of life—soul, mind, body—time, talents, treasures. The need for a return to Bible study, prayer, teaching and sharing was commended to the churches. And the power of *example* in giving needs to be shown first of all by pastors, elders and other church leaders.

Disciple and discipline are built on the same foundation. The disciple agrees to be formed and built up in increasing stature and maturity. The churches in Africa have largely neglected the basic aim and purpose of discipline, i.e., the restoration of the fallen to fellowship. The churches have seen a great deal of the "driftwood" of an unloving, unbending legalism that had not the spirit of Christ. The statement on Church Discipline also noted, with regret, that laxity of dis-

cipline in some (older) churches, "that should be examples to others has weakened the understanding of the true spirit of discipline and its effective practice." The statement could well serve as a basis for instruction to pastors and church elders on this important phase of church life and soul care.

IV. Literacy and Leadership

Along with the compelling need for raising standards of education and securing greater opportunities for leadership training, the corner stone of literacy was laid before the Conference as the greatest single unit in the whole system. Churches must be willing to set aside the best qualified personnel for translation of Scriptures, and launch literacy campaigns, and to train Africans to write African books for African readers.

V. New Era and Area of Evangelism

The importance of the LWF Radio Project was brought into sharp focus at the Conference by a report from its director. "Until illiteracy has been overcome, radio provides... the most effective means of reaching people," he said. Although there are at present perhaps no more than five million receivers in Africa, the number is increasing at an incredible rate. The director likened the LWF radio station unto "the highest Lutheran pulpit in the world—a pulpit from which all kinds of programs designed to nurture and strengthen the churches will be beamed to the various target areas" in different parts of Africa, the Near East and southern Asia. It was also reported the "roughly thirty percent of the programs" of the station will be "specifically religious." The other seventy percent "will be a variety of news broadcasts, educational programs and all kinds of service programs in the fields of agriculture, hygiene, home economics, entertainment, etc."

The churches in each region or principal target area are planning to set up local studios for preparation of programs in key languages, to be sent out to the station in Ethiopia for full-scale broadcasting.

VI. Pride—of Race, Face and Place

The sod of the earth has been slashed with graves and soaked with blood because of pride. Race, face and place all crowd into the house of pride. Prejudice rides on the Ass

of Ignorance along the muddy road of Intolerance. And the most subtle kind of pride may be the pride of grace—denominational egotism and bigotry. From Antsirabé came a message born out of experience and self-examination before the Word of God, and beamed to every last Lutheran in the world, that called the evil of racial discrimination by its right name. We quote from the unanimous resolution:

THE CHURCH AND DISCRIMINATION

"WHEREAS today division and strife among men is such that the sin of discrimination against race, culture and nation or tribe must be pointed out and spoken against;

WHEREAS the evil of discrimination divides men and, as such, is also an obstacle to the work of the Holy Spirit among men and the spread of the Gospel of love;

WHEREAS the will of Almighty God as revealed in his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, in his Holy Word and by his Spirit of grace manifesting itself among men, calls upon all men to live as children of God in brotherly love and fellowship; and

WHEREAS Christians, who are one body in Christ, cannot claim always to have been free from forms of discrimination against men, and penitently in Christ confess their guilt:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the second All-Africa Lutheran Conference, meeting in Antsirabé, Madagascar, accept that we are under an obligation:

- (a) to remove from our midst all vestiges of discrimination against men on the basis of race, culture, nation or tribe,
- (b) to bear witness to the world and all men that all attitudes and practices of racial discrimination are sin and evil which cannot be countenanced by either our Creator or man himself, and must be replaced by an attitude and practice of love and equality (Galatians 3:28-29) among men,
- (c) to respect the freedom and individuality of all nations, peoples and churches (that is, the right of all nations, peoples and churches to be free and to exercise the gifts with which God has endowed them),

- (d) to request all Lutheran churches everywhere to pray and work for the effective application in our midst of the foregoing resolution by the help of Almighty God.

This resolution is based on the insights provided in, among others, the following Bible passages: Galatians 3:28-29; Acts 17:26 a; I Corinthians 12; Colossians 3:11-15; Romans 3:10, 23; Ephesians 2:13-18; 4:30-32; I John 2:9-11; 4:20-21; Matthew 7:12; 25:40; Mark 16:15; Revelations 7:9; I Timothy 2:1-3; James 2:1-9; Genesis 1:26; Leviticus 19:18, 33."

VII. Political Responsibility

The resolution on racial discrimination was not just a breezy slogan or pious prattle. Among the delegates there were too many who knew that they would again face its degrading onslaught when they left Antsirabé to return home.

And tied very closely to this whole matter was that of political responsibility and Christian citizenship. Can a person be a good Christian and also be a good citizen? The Conference would have betrayed its own spirit and been blind to its task of service if it had not voiced its recognition of and responsibility in contemporary events in the countries of Africa! "God has called the church to serve the world. Therefore, the church is not an end in itself."

The Church must witness in word and action to the Good News of the Gospel. "In this decisive hour in Africa," said the delegates, "it is of special importance that the Lutheran churches throughout Africa should find fresh ways to render the distinctive service which is expected from them as churches."

The uniqueness and scope of responsibility for the educated Christian in Africa stems from the fact that he is a member of a "double minority." First of all as a Christian he is in the minority, and this is also true of the educated group; they are few. This dual-minority combination increases his responsibility many-fold. In sharing their convictions on political responsibility the Africans revealed a mature attitude, I believe, when they stated that:

"Christians are obedient in faith to their Lord. Therefore they are called also to practice this obedience in responsible citizenship. The churches should encourage their

members to take an active part in government service and in political parties in order to 'seek the peace of the city' (Jeremiah 29:7), provided they can do so without violating their primary obedience to their Lord."

"The special task of pastors and other full-time servants of the church requires that those among them who, after careful consideration before God, feel called to take up full-time political office should for the duration of such office withdraw from their position in the church."

Churches were requested to study and teach how Christians can best take their place as citizens in their respective countries, and it was recognized as an undebatable fact that "each Christian holds dual citizenship—in God's Kingdom and in his own nation. Loyalty to God takes precedence over all, and this loyalty never contradicts the best interests of any nation."

VIII. Autonomy—Authority and Responsibility

Young churches do not remain as children. The age of accountability is a milestone in life, and the right to voice one's opinion and make one's own decisions are part of the Christian's birthright. One of the significant changes in several areas since Marangu had been the integration of Mission and Church, erasing the dichotomy of authority and moving responsibility to its rightful place—the autonomous indigenous church.

It was reiterated that missionaries are wanted in the Lutheran Churches of Africa today, that their help is required and earnestly desired. In the discussion and decisions concerning transition steps in Mission-Church relationships, the following were especially significant and encouraging guide posts:

"African Lutheran churches should be entrusted with full autonomy in the work of the church, with the right to select their own leaders, be they African or European, and to do so without the necessity for action to be ratified by a home board."

While agreeing that conditions vary from country to country, it was nevertheless recognized as a fact that in Africa today, "if Africans are not in positions of leadership and responsibility, people outside the Church would regard it as an ecclesiastical colony. It helps non-Christians to understand the intent of missionaries if Africans are in charge. And when the leadership is African the membership in the church itself is more apt to regard the church as their own!"

Authority and responsibility should also include the area of calling missionaries.

"In cases where full integration of Mission and Church has been achieved, requests for missionary personnel with some specification of the type of work to be done should be made by the church. The call should be extended by the home board."

Transition trends also touch transfer of mission property, the purpose and goal of which normally is that it too shall be that of the indigenous church. It was noted that "not only government policies, but also plans of churches and missions varied so greatly in different countries that no single recommendation could be given that will apply to all property issues." It was agreed, however, that "houses of worship and other properties essential to the work of the church should be owned by the church if laws of the land would permit. Whether ownership of other types of institutions and missionary residences should be transferred to the church would depend on local circumstances."

It was also observed that the acquirement of political independence in a nation seems to stimulate churches to greater willingness in the assumption of responsibilities. Instances were cited where even the interruption of missionary participation occasioned by war did not stop the growth of the work, but rather prodded the church into greater activity.

Self-support is one of the most significant lessons to be learned in the school of autonomy. Where the younger churches have received and received for so long, it is difficult for many of their constituency and even their leaders willingly to recognize the truth that "it is better to give than to receive."

Final Rally

The Conference was inspiringly climaxed by the singing and processional of delegates and visitors through the streets of Antsirabé to an open-air hillside amphitheater, where some 5,000 were gathered for the final service. The rally was held near the place where some six decades ago rebels attacked and fired upon a missionary residence. The inspired singing by massed choirs of Malagasy Lutherans and the placing before the audience the great necessity laid upon us all to proclaim in deed and truth Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, brought the Conference to a heart-searching close.

On to Ethiopia

The Conference accepted "with thanks the gracious invitation extended by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, and of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church—Makane Yesus delegation to hold the Third All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Ethiopia," God willing in 1965.

Recognizing that great steps towards autonomy of the younger churches would undoubtedly be one of the important milestones reached in the years immediately ahead, and that self-propagation is after all one of the two significant signs of life in a church, a suggested topic for consideration in 1965 was that of *partnership of mission and church* in reaching those who have not heard the Gospel.

What the churches are willing to do in obedience to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, between now and then will be the true test of the significance of "Antsirabé." Unless each one who attended the Conference is ready for a new surrender of all of life and a new dedication to the church's mission, he will have wasted the time and labor spent on his behalf. It is also sincerely hoped that the Antsirabé Conference report will see constant and dedicated use throughout the Lutheran household in Africa in the follow-up program of this Second All-Africa Conference.

RUBEN A. PEDERSEN

World Council of Churches

Faith and Order : 1960

"ONE MAN'S DISORDER IS ANOTHER MAN'S ORDER." This was the title of an article which appeared in a New York newspaper last April. It described a psychological study made of the difference between individuals' habits of work but might equally well apply to the basic problems of Christian unity with which the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches deals in its theological program. At the triennial meeting of the Commission at St. Andrews, Scotland, in August this again became evident in many ways. Christian unity is difficult to achieve not just because

we have different ideas of how to realize it but because we have different images of what it is.

The Faith and Order Movement arose out of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 and since then its work has been constantly hindered by this lack of agreement on the goal of unity. Now in 1960 an attempt has been made to break through this traditional "sound-barrier" in ecumenical theology with a definition of church unity which represents an ecumenical consensus. It has been agreed to by the Commission, and has been accepted by the Central Committee of the World Council to be forwarded to the churches for their consideration and comment. The key paragraph reads:

"The Commission on Faith and Order understands that the unity which is both God's will and His gift to His Church is one which brings all in each place who confess Christ Jesus as Lord into a fully committed fellowship with one another through one baptism into Him, holding the one apostolic faith, preaching the one Gospel and breaking the one bread, and having a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all; and which at the same time unites them with the whole Christian fellowship in all places and all ages in such wise that ministry and members are acknowledged by all, and that all can act and speak together as occasion requires for the tasks to which God calls the Church."

If the 1960 Faith and Order Commission meeting is remembered it may well be for this historic statement, compared by one as the "ecumenical equivalent of the Lambeth Quadrilateral." The list of membership of the Commission numbering over 90 from such widely divergent traditions as Orthodox, Anglican, Friends, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Lutheran, and from many parts of the world, suggests the comprehension of views which are represented in this consensus. The definition may be brief but it shows that there is growing agreement on the nature of the unity we seek together in the ecumenical movement.

To understand it better the whole Report on the Future of Faith and Order, of which this definition is one part, should be studied, in particular the following explanatory paragraph:

"It is for such unity that we believe we must pray and work. Such a vision has indeed been the inspiration of the Faith and Order movement in the past, and we re-affirm that this is still our goal. We recognize that the brief definition of our objective which we have given above leaves many questions unanswered.

In particular we would state emphatically that the unity we seek is not one of uniformity, or a monolithic power structure, and that on the interpretation and the means of achieving certain of the matters specified in the preceding paragraph we are not yet of a common mind."

So we might say, though we have considerable differences remaining on our understanding of order and disorder, we are beginning to agree on that which separates order from chaos. And that is heartening.

The discussion on "churchly unity" (the adjective was later dropped and the more familiar term "church unity" was substituted) opened the Commission meeting but it provided the underlying motif for much of the rest of the deliberations, probably because it reflected the growing concern that Faith and Order's orientation should be more directed toward the actual, concrete problems of church union as they are confronting the various churches and the World Council itself at this time. Though there would be strong objections to the oft-heard thesis that Faith and Order theological speculations have been too highly refined and esoteric for practical ecumenical use (a common criticism of analogous theoretical research in other scientific fields), the Future Report, the reports from the on-going theological commissions on Christ and the Church, Tradition, Worship and Institutionalism, together with the discussion on them, all revealed a general feeling that Faith and Order in its whole program needed to be more "actual" in regard to church unity. A good deal was said about the dangers of docetic ecumenism and the fact that Faith and Order encompassed both study and action as the inheritor of a movement for *manifest* Christian unity.

The Chairman of the Commission, Dean Douglas Horton, stressed this in his introduction to the discussion on "churchly unity" when he said the new definition was "a way of saying 'No!' to the seductive temptation of settling down where we are," as did the Archbishop of York, Dr. A. M. Ramsey, when he emphasized that Unity should not be dissociated from the other traditional marks of Apostolicity, Catholicity, and Holiness in considering Faith and Order's function of promoting church unity:

"So deep and multi-dimensional is the Churchliness set before us in this definition that to summarise it as 'unity' alone is to do less than justice to it. The definition does not say only: 'you must unite.' It says also: 'you must be sanctified,' 'you must make a certain impact upon society,' 'you must be integrated

in the truth,' 'you must be one with the saints in all ages and places'... the proposed definition of 'churchly unity' (true and challenging as I believe it to be) involves far more than unity, and if we concentrate solely on unity in our approach we shall not be doing justice to the nature of unity itself."

This "incarnational" ecumenism was found in other places too—sometimes unexpectedly. One of the papers opening the session on "The Meaning of Baptism" devoted itself to an analysis of the theological issues involved in the existential struggles over baptismal practice in East Germany. The American chairman of the Theological Commission on Worship, Professor Joseph Sittler of Chicago, told the Commission of his plans for a conference at which their papers and reports would be exposed to a typical group of laymen—for example, a bus-driver, a housewife, with no special theological training—to see if what they were talking about really made sense or not: (an enterprise, some jokingly said, unnecessarily foolhardy and a dangerous precedent for other ecumenical theological work!); they hoped this experiment might illustrate the common problem of communication which all churches had in their various traditions of worship. Principal Russell Chandran of Bangalore, chairman of the Asian section of the same Commission, told of their studies in indigenization of worship, with its close relation to the evangelistic task of the churches in non-Western cultures. The Commission learned more of the approach to the problems of unity and disunity being made by the Institutionalism Study under the direction of Dean Walter Muelder and Professor Nils Ehrenström of Boston, in particular, their consideration of the relationship of the theological and sociological aspects of the reality of the Church as *koinonia* and as institution and their application of "the Chalcedonian formula" to the issue of church unity. And in a special session on "The Ecclesiological Implications of a Theology of the Laity," Professor Hendrik Kraemer sharply challenged Faith and Order to come down from the theological heights and get into the "mud" of everyday church life in dealing with the questions of Christian disunity.

Finally, at the Consultation on Church Union Negotiations which immediately followed the Commission, this same "incarnational" stress was maintained, not only through the factual reports of the state of present union schemes and conversations but

also through the papers presented on special topics considered to be of general relevance to churches engaged in union negotiations. One was on the implications of the Lambeth Conference for church union schemes by the Bishop of Chelmsford, Dr. S. F. Allison; another on the studies of institutionalism in union negotiations by Professor Ehrenström; the third on the legal aspects of mergers by William Stringfellow, a practicing lawyer in New York. This latter paper caused a considerable stir, not only as a brilliant pioneering exploration of a new field, but because it so sharply underlined the inevitable involvement of the church unity movement in the labyrinths of the world—one of the cases cited was *Immaculate Conception v. Murphy*, nicely illustrating the point!

One should not suppose from this that the classical Faith and Order approach through painstaking biblical and theological depth-research was neglected. The Christ and the Church Commission under the chairmanship of Bishop Anders Nygren of Lund and Professor Robert Calhoun of Yale, presented their interim report, soon to be published by the S.C.M. Press, together with the report on "The Meaning of Baptism" mentioned previously, under the title *One Lord, One Baptism*. Though it was only a provisional indication of their findings, as Bishop Nygren pointed out, it seemed to many to be an ample justification of the new christological line adopted at the Lund Conference in 1952: that is "the conviction that is of decisive importance for the advance of ecumenical work that the doctrine of the Church be treated in close relation both to the doctrine of Christ and to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit." The interim report was the first-fruits of this frontier effort to "penetrate behind the divisions of the Church on earth to our common faith in the one Lord" and gives promise of some of the most creative theological breakthroughs in Faith and Order's history.

The same thorough scholarship was evident in the background in the report of the Theological Commission on Tradition presented by Professor K. E. Skydsgaard, chairman of the European section, and Professor Georges Florovsky of Harvard and Professor D. W. Hay of Toronto, vice-chairman and secretary respectively of the American section. Professor Skydsgaard described their work as the attempt to define "a Tradition with a capital 'T,' which is absolute, the living center of all our traditions with a small 't,' without

which all our traditions lose their meaning and substance." Analogous to the christological method of the Christ and the Church Commission, the Tradition group is going behind and beneath the present divisions to the "beyond," as they have called it, of a "common and integral Tradition."

The methodology of the two sections is not identical. The American section, for example, presented their findings in a stimulating report drafted by Professor Albert Outler of Dallas, the chairman, and Professor Jaroslav Pelikan of Chicago entitled "Overcoming History with History," suggesting a historical as compared to the more dogmatic approach of the European section. Together, however, they are on "a new way of historical and dogmatic research, a new seeking for that common history which we have as Christians and which we have discovered to be longer, larger and richer than any of our separate histories in our divided churches," as Professor Skydsgaard put it at St. Andrews.

Compared to the more spectacular aspects of ecumenical work—refugee service, work-camps, youth conferences, evangelistic teams—it is often difficult to give "color" to the Faith and Order enterprise. A theologian in his study surrounded by shelves of Kittel and Barth doesn't catch the eye like a bare-legged youth working in a city slum. Pencils and biblical commentaries don't tell the ecumenical story as vividly as pick-axes and shovels. Yet both are essential. Bishop Nygren said that the "long, slow, gradual process... the common search and entry into the depths of the common inheritance" is a true and promising ecumenical way, yet to "those who are not yet engaged in this common quest it may be that this central search has become uninteresting, or too slow and apparently irrelevant." The Faith and Order "back-room boys," as the Bishop of Bristol described them to a press conference at St. Andrews, sometimes have difficulty in justifying their existence when it comes to slicing up today's budgets in the competitive atmosphere of ecumenical bureaucracy. But this kind of highly-refined theological labor may have just as much explosive potential for the ecumenical movement as does the work on cryptic formulas and algebraic equations of the "theoretical" physicists for modern atomic developments. If the chalk scribbles on classroom blackboards of such apparently innocent formulae as $E = mc^2$ can lead to the splitting of atoms, is there any

reason to suppose that equally innocent doctrinal formulations may not have analogous ecumenical possibilities for the walls of Christian division? Such analogies are partial, and often misleading, but may at least hint at the importance of Faith and Order's role in the ecumenical life.

This raises the question of the future of Faith and Order. The definition of "churchly unity" was part of the introduction to a Report on the Future of Faith and Order, which has been under preparation for the past three years. It sets out the traditional purpose of Faith and Order as a movement for church unity and examines the implications of the "changed circumstances" under which it now works for its program.

The Report is a re-affirmation of Faith and Order's constitutional objective of proclaiming the essential oneness of the Church of Christ and "the obligation to manifest that unity." The new definition is a "fuller statement of this purpose" based on the conviction that "events are forcing upon us various kinds of Christian co-operation, and that if we do not find true unity we shall find ourselves remaining content with a form of organizational unity which leaves unfulfilled many of the central requirements of the Church's life. There is therefore need for a proper sense of urgency lest we lose the time that God gives us."

This, it should be noted, represents a new interpretation of ecumenical history. The urgency which is mentioned is not derived from utopian dreams of an ecumenical golden age about to be ushered in. Rather it is based on the clear-eyed awareness of the pitfalls of ecumenical "success" at the cooperative level. The framers of this statement are convinced that precisely at the time when the ecumenical movement seems to be achieving its purposes so well through the formation of such a body as the World Council of Churches is the time to be most concerned about the ultimate ecumenical objectives, and to ask "what kind of unity does God demand of His Church?". They have seen that the legitimate concern to do justice to all the different ecclesiological viewpoints in the World Council—as in the Toronto Statement of 1950—may paradoxically foster a kind of ecumenical neutralism regarding church unity which in effect absolutizes the present co-operative organizations. It is pointed out, consequently, that "we are not entirely free to proceed at our own pace," for as the

ecumenical unity now realized is embodied, it thereby is being imprisoned in forms which are less than full "churchly" unity, and therefore "Faith and Order must constantly press upon the Council and the churches the fact that the question of unity is one upon which an answer has to be given, and that to give no answer means to be shut up to the wrong answer." This is why a new "image" of the unity we seek is being projected at this time.

The fact that the Faith and Order Commission unanimously adopted this statement, as did the Central Committee in forwarding it to the churches for their consideration and comment, may be taken as encouraging evidence of the continued vitality of the spirit of radical self-criticism in the ecumenical body.

The Faith and Order supporters were also encouraged by the Central Committee endorsement of the proposed program outlined in the Future Report. Plans for Faith and Order work on regional, national, and local levels were approved and it was noted with satisfaction that this was already taking place with the appointment of Faith and Order secretaries for national councils of churches in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia, and the activation of Faith and Order committees elsewhere in such places as Finland, Sweden, New Zealand and Japan. It was also agreed that special efforts should be made to draw churches not members of the World Council into Faith and Order activities; Russian Orthodox, Pentecostal, and Roman Catholic observers, incidentally, were present at the Commission meeting. The words of Dr. David du Plessis, former general secretary of the World Conference of Pentecostal Churches, were heard with special interest when he said he was "privileged to share in two Pentecostal Revivals. One still outside the World Council of Churches, and the other, more recent one, inside the Historic Churches within the Ecumenical Movement." The Commission also heard the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic observers tell of the special interest of their communions in Faith and Order work, and their desire to be involved more fully in it. They were signs of Faith and Order's traditional power in drawing churches "out of isolation into conference," as the Constitution puts it.

Finally, it was agreed that Faith and Order might offer consultative services for churches

engaged in union negotiations, or church union committees, *when invited* (this qualification was heavily underlined) with "the understanding that these consultants do not speak in the name of the Commission as a whole." The first experimental visitation of this sort was made in the autumn of 1959 when Dr. Norman Goodall of England and I took part in the meeting of the Church Union Committee of North Madagascar. As Pastor Charles Westphal of France, a member of the Faith and Order Commission, later brought personal word from Madagascar to the Central Committee of the appreciation of the participating churches for the visit, it seemed to place a seal of approval on this new departure in Faith and Order activities, one which was entered into only after the various questions raised by some of the World Council member churches had been carefully answered and the restrictive limitations they proposed accepted.

The third and last section of the Future Report on "Consequences for Organization" was in some ways the most controversial. It starts out pacifically enough:

"We believe that all the tasks we have outlined, and others which we trust that He will show us, together constitute a central part of the Council's work, and an ingredient in the whole which keeps all our churches aware of the full unity of Word and Sacrament, Ministry and Mission, in universal and local fellowship."

It then goes on, however, to spell this out:

"We believe that in order for the World Council as a whole to be this effective organ in the cause of unity, Faith and Order should be at the center of its life and a major element in its organizational structure."

The concrete suggestion most sharply debated was that Faith and Order should be made a full Division of the Council, rather than a department of the Division of Studies as at present. This and related proposals were considered by the Commission "not to involve any radical change in the relation of Faith and Order to the WCC but simply a logical development of a pattern which is already provided for in the Constitution and a natural strengthening of Faith and Order within the WCC commensurate with the growth and development of the World Council itself in recent years."

Without going into all the fine points of the debate, these suggestions were finally withdrawn because the Commission was

advised that they ran counter to the over-all plans proposed by the Program and Finance Committee in their Report to the Central Committee, and seemed to imply organizational changes that were premature at this stage of World Council structural development.

The final solution reached was a compromise. Certain concessions were made to Faith and Order in providing for a larger staff and an increased budget and more direct access to the policy-making bodies of the Council. But, to the regret of many, the key proposals were lost, and the Commission recorded its view that the present settlement was "not the best final solution to our problem."

There are, of course, differing assessments of the implications of these organizational decisions. One journalist wrote of "fears that the Commission's new role may destroy its remaining evangelical strength and usefulness." Another "happily" reported "that the attempt of Faith and Order to invent a theological secretary and in other ways to seek a place for itself in the sun were largely dismissed" by the Central Committee. The feeling in Faith and Order circles seemed to be that St. Andrews marked a welcome forward step, but not the last one; and there was general agreement that when the whole question of a reorganization of the present World Council structure eventually comes up the proposals for improving the place of Faith and Order within it will be raised again and with better chance of success.

The sharp differences exposed over the organizational future of Faith and Order did reveal one thing very clearly: the lack of adequate reflection on the processes of institutionalization of the World Council itself. The World Council has evolved into certain structural forms and organizational patterns almost by spontaneous generation. When, however, a question is raised about priorities, as when Faith and Order suggests that it should "be more clearly seen to occupy a place in the structure of the WCC which properly reflects its central and fundamental role in the whole ecumenical movement," the resulting debate is almost impossible to resolve because there seem to be no commonly accepted criteria for ecumenical institutionalization to appeal to in deciding the issues. There is nothing comparable ecumenically, for example, to the "intrinsic organism" theory of architect Frank Lloyd Wright, with its precept of "form and function as one" and

its guiding principle of "power directly applied to purpose." But bureaucratic organization requires logic as much as the architecture which provides the building to house it.

These struggles may be dismissed as the growing pains of a young organization, but they may also be pains symptomatic of deep organic maladies which may institutionally cripple the ecumenical body for generations to come unless they are promptly remedied. The Faith and Order Institutionalism Commission is planning to delve into the "immensely challenging problem of ecumenical institutionalization" and their findings could begin to fill the vacuum which now exists in this area.

* * *

The year 1960—quite appropriately, its Golden Anniversary—marks a historic turning point in the life of Faith and Order and in some ways a new beginning. The Future Report epitomizes both the continuity and the break with the past.

What is notably new is its stress on the concrete and incarnate problems of church unity. It marks a clear renunciation of any hidden or explicit docetic approach to ecclesiology. It evidences, if one may compare it with past ecumenical ideologies, a sacramental in contrast to a "Gnostic" ecumenology—if one may use that ancient term to describe "the temper of mind," as Gore called it, which finds a fundamental antagonism between flesh and spirit and conceives spirituality to be contrary to external religious manifestations. It is realistic, not idealistic.

It was revealing in this respect to discover how disturbed some apparently were that the Faith and Order Future Report was so explicit in developing the organizational consequences of its theological "new look." Nevertheless, there is little inclination in Faith and Order circles to apologize for having raised the awkward issues of ecumenical institutionalization at this time. Professor Leonard Hodgson of Oxford, former Secretary of the Commission, points out that the Movement was born partly out of the "frustration of men who found that their attempts at co-operative planning stirred up interests they were forbidden to explore" and who were moved to desire a conference "called for the direct

purpose of discussing the outlawed questions."

The "outlawed questions" of today are no doubt different from those of fifty years ago. Perhaps one of them may be ecumenical institutionalism. Whatever they are, this new theological realism is bound to get at them and expose them to the same kind of radical scrutiny which the other barriers to full church unity have enjoyed in the course of Faith and Order's half-century of work.

* * *

This review may shatter some cherished stereotypes—both sympathetic and unsympathetic—about the nature of the ecumenical movement. This is all to the good if it can help to dispel the romantic and sentimental aura which too easily tends to surround such a new and exotic enterprise. As Professor Skydsgaard of Denmark put it:

"The ecumenical movement... has a valuable role as a disturber of peace. Many people regard ecumenical thinking as very peaceful thinking, keeping painful and difficult questions as far as possible in the shadow, but this is not in fact true. In the past, when each church lived in almost splendid isolation, in almost undisturbed peace, the situation was indeed easier and less painful. But the ecumenical movement, while seeking unity, is at the same time a great disturber of peace, putting aggressive questions to the churches. It is a radical movement, which must reach the depths of our problems, and this also means struggle, and a painful theological revision and penitence. True unity will be the result of a very thorny way... with many painful moments, but also with promising and joyful hours together. We are in the midst of the great, classic Christian theology."

When the Faith and Order Commission had finished its work and gone away, and the Central Committee had accepted its new definition of church unity, a correspondent from one of the English church papers wrote in somewhat purple prose that the World Council at its St. Andrews meeting "crossed its 'theological water-shed' and emerged into the sparkling sunshine and bracing air of seemingly level, fertile country." The Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Principal John Burleigh, in greeting the Central Committee spoke of the Scottish climate as "bracing you—to within an inch of your life."

Participants in the Faith and Order Commission meeting might differ on which use of the term "bracing" might be more appropriate to describe the discussions. Which ever is chosen, there would probably be general agreement that "bracing" at least indicates that Faith and Order is alive and that its vitality augurs well for its potential ability to play an effective role in the considerable tasks remaining of making theological and doctrinal work more central in the structure and program of the World Council in the future, and through this in the whole ecumenical movement for the unity of Christ's Church.

KEITH R. BRIDSTON

Ecumenical World

The Orthodox Prosynod of Rhodes

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras, of a Panorthodox assembly in Rhodes island of the Dodecanese, with the full participation of representatives from all sister-churches, is a customary system, following an old practice of the Orthodox Church. It provides an opportunity to settle various canonical, liturgical or pastoral issues requiring new directives and interpretation. The 19th Canon of the IVth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon is a reminder that bishops should hold Diocesan Synods regularly, once or twice a year, in order to solve pending questions. This practice has been followed right through the ages, and only occasional political hindrances have prevented their continuation. In fact, Orthodoxy is the Church of assemblies, of synods, of the voice of many, clergy and laity.

Since, according to the Orthodox ecclesiology, each National Church enjoys an ecclesiastical autonomy, the assembled delegates are allowed to bring forward for joint discussion particular problems concerning either one particular area or the Orthodox Churches as a whole. We must bear in mind that bishops, while they represent the priestly part of the Church, cannot nevertheless personify the whole of the mystical body of Christ, in its full dimension. The Roman Catholic theology asserts in this respect that

the Clergy is *in persona totius ecclesiae*, following Thomas Aquinas' opinion that the celebrating priest acts *in persona omnium*¹, while in the Orthodox theology the Church is the unity of the Clergy and of the *Laos*.

We are reminded at this point of the well-known classical definition given by St. Cyprian: "The Church is the people united with her Bishops and the flock staying near to the pastor.... The Bishop is within the Church and the Church within the Bishop. If someone is not with the Bishop, he is not in the Church" (Epistle 60,8).

After the Schism between the Eastern and Western Orthodox Church and the fall of Byzantium various historical circumstances prevented the Orthodox Church from continuing this system of convening councils. Henceforward, local Synods are very rarely convoked. A few attempts have been made, during the last centuries, towards the re-establishment of the old practice. Upon the raising of certain grave issues, the Patriarch of Constantinople, in a common agreement with the other Patriarchates, took the initiative to convoke certain Assemblies. The last tentative one took place in June 1930 at Mount Athos². The then Patriarch of Constantinople, Mgr. Photios, in his invitation to all the Orthodox heads, stressed that "only by common study and resolution would they reach the proper conclusions as to the convocation of the forthcoming Prosynod."

Among the urgent subjects in question were the divergence on the reformation of the calendar, the canonical situation of many Orthodox Autocephalous Churches in Diaspora, and the defence against proselytizing agencies working in the Middle East.

Unfortunately, the prevailing political circumstances did not allow the participation of Russian delegates. Nevertheless, the officially published proceedings of this preparatory consultation stirred up interest in organizing a better and larger Panorthodox Meeting, whenever favorable conditions would permit this accomplishment in the future³. On the

¹ Summa Theolog. III, q. 82, a. 6. q. 80.a. 12.

² Proceedings of the Preparatory Committee of the Orthodox Churches held at Mount Athos, Constantinople, 1930 (in Greek).

³ It is known that instead of holding a celebration of the 1600 years' anniversary of the 1st Nicaean Council, the convocation of a Panorthodox Prosynod for June 1932 at Mount Athos was proposed by the Patriarchate of Constantinople; unfortunately, due to unforeseen obstacles, it never took place, the only possibility being the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the aforesaid Prosynod.

occasion of the Russian Church's anniversary celebrations of 500 years as an autocephalous church, some important views and propositions were exchanged among the assembled delegates, which gave hints for the next synodical Committee⁴.

What People Expect from the Orthodox Church

During the first centuries, the Church had to define its Faith by formulating it in thought according to the Hellenistic terminology. It also had to defend this Faith against the appearance of heresies and misinterpretations.

Nowadays, the task of the Church is to shape the newly formed society according to the eternal principles set by the Church, the principles of eternal value which are inevitably changeable in their external form.

To this effect, the Church has to be aware of the trends, aspirations and anxieties of contemporary man. Since the very object of a Church's Council is to debate the problems of the *Λαός*, the Church of today, the problems and expectations of the people in reference to their Church cannot be ignored or disregarded.

Therefore it would be advisable to let the people express their opinions from now on. Let them discuss and justify the facts by giving the reasons and the cause that brought about certain results. Let them also discuss the pros and cons of beliefs and plans, for this is an essential part of a charismatic Christian's privilege which only the totalitarian and monarchic systems seek to deny.

The structure of the Orthodox Laity served in fostering this duty of *μαρτυρία* in public discussions on topics of today. Their voice was included among the proceedings of several Councils. Modern devices, like the Press, T.V., have immensely widened the possibilities of free discussions for the benefit of the whole body of the Church.

The Church is not lacking in subjects. A static society is more prone to accept than to question. When our congregations lived through major spiritual and social revolution, while sociologists, scientists and new philosophers were confronting mankind with

challenging interpretations as to the purpose of life, man's destiny and the various moral questions of their age, the doors opened widely to an exchange of views under the guidance of the Church. By examining such facts in the course of historical religious events, we can enrich the list of the subjects to be discussed in the Prosynod.

However, the raising of such discussions would necessitate certain restrictions. There have been times when a similar practice has proved completely unwise. For some subjects dealing with Faith and Dogma are such that a true Orthodox member should accept them without any discussion or argumentation. Speaking of the *γνώσις* in this respect, we exclude the items expressing the true doctrine of the Body of Christ which have been finally defined and accepted by the Ecumenical Councils. Thus, it would be inadmissible to concentrate on trivialities or theologoumena, while so many vital and urgent issues are waiting the answer of the Church. Let us explain to the people the dimensions of *σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *γνώσις*. But between this Scylla and Charybdis lies an immense field of really important subjects where all of us, Clergy and faithful Laity, by reason of our involvement with the world, have the plain duty of proposing issues and indicating remedies.

In order to attain this purpose, it would be also necessary that articles written by competent theologians would precede the Panorthodox meeting. Relevant information should be also produced through group preliminary discussions by parish clergymen and professors of theology. Thus, the occurrence of such a revival within the Church will produce the natural framework for the formulation of the final agenda. On the other hand, it would be most important for all the fervent Christians to try to infiltrate secular groups in the social, educational or intellectual contacts with their fellow men, so that the adequacy of the Gospel would be thoroughly explained to them. The true knowledge of the Gospel would come in answer to all their current issues and would prove to them that Christ is indeed the *ὁ Κύριος, τὸ πλῆρωμα* and *τέλος* of history.

In the course of the past 30 years a number of issues for discussion have been accumulated. These issues, though sometimes common in subject, differ according to the political regime and the geographical area or sociolog-

⁴ See: "Actes de la Conférence des chefs et des représentants des Eglises Orthodoxes Autocéphales, réunies à Moscou, à l'occasion de la célébration solennelle des fêtes du 500^{me} anniversaire de l'autocéphalie de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Russe (8-18 juillet, 1948); Moscou.

ical position of each Church. The *rappports* and proceedings of the established annual or biannual Clergy Conferences in various dioceses in Greece, e.g., can help us to understand the most urgent problems facing rural or urban populations.

An Ecumenical Council must be distinguished from a Local Council and that again from a Prosynod-Antepreparatory, as is this announced forthcoming Council. In other words, a Prosynod is nothing more than an assembly aiming at the preparation of a larger one. Such Provincial (*προσύνωδος*) Councils have taken place in the past at Constantinople in 1638, again at Constantinople, at Iasi in Rumania in 1642, at Constantinople in 1672, at Jerusalem the same year; most of these were held to protest against the strange *Confessio Fidei* of the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, which was circulated at that time.

A survey of some of the more essential items occupying the minds of the Orthodox Clergy today which may be discussed at the forthcoming Panorthodox Meeting is given below.

Monastic Life

Monasticism had always been, throughout the centuries, the inspired source of Church leaders. Most of the Greek Fathers and outstanding doctors of theology emanated from monasteries. Monasteries were not only centers for contemplative life, theological training and divine interpretation, but also a recruitment center for the Church's mission. When the Orthodox faith was facing the different heresies, devout monks like John Damascene and Theodore of Studium were its defenders. For many centuries monasticism was distinguished by an inactive isolationism and marasmus. Even today, some people support the view that monasteries should be profoundly reorganized and used by the Church for inner missions and acute social purposes.

However, considering that in the times of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom monasteries were serving not only spiritual but also charitable and welfare ends, nobody would disagree with such a suggestion. There is a great need for the reorganization of monasteries, but this should be effected in such a way that their essential character would not be altered. The shortage of new novices and the lack of recruitment for the monasteries, especially

Mount Athos, are due to the fact that most of the monasteries have only a few accomplishments to show in the field of social and educational activities. Society demands a harmonious combination between the contemplative life and the social activities.

The Codification of Canonical Ordinances

A distinction should be made between the canonical sources or comments referring to doctrines and those concerning discipline and ecclesiastical order. The canonists dealing with Canons on doctrine do not usually accept any alteration or compromise. They are convinced that Canons were legislated by our Fathers, who were guided by the Holy Spirit. However, they agree that on matters of discipline a modification is required, i.e. on fasting, penance, ascetic requirements, matrimonial or sexual questions, etc. According to the interpretation of the Canons, the Church maintains the right to revise or modify them through a similar legislative body, that is, a new Council, in the light of contemporary social necessities. Only then do old ordinances acquire due validity. Very often clergymen find themselves bewildered by contradictory ordinances. They face a puzzling problem in their effort to modify certain canons of discipline, which existed many centuries ago, and whose complete irrelevancy and impracticability makes them perfectly useless in our day. A competent committee of canonists should undertake the task of collecting first of all in a corpus all the scattered canonical collections and then should point out in a systematic and methodical order, after careful study and judgment, which canons would be subject to revision.

That an unpleasant and confusing situation exists, as far as the faithful interpretation of the requirements of Canon Law is concerned, is beyond doubt. The attitude regarding one and the same disciplinary rule very often varies greatly among the Churches. The fact that there is no one binding principle, covering all possible cases, as in the casuistry of the Roman Church, is both an advantage and a disadvantage. Thus Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, writing to the Archbishop of Belgrade, Michael, in May 1706, recommends a combination of both elements: "Church affairs can be solved in two ways, either in strict observance or by economy, κατὰ ἀκριβειαν καὶ κατὰ οἰκονομίαν. If it

is impossible by strict observance, then let dispensation be used."⁵

Readjustment of Inner Mission

The Church is charged with a message to the world, to its communities. It must have the means to deliver that message. Its methods must be adaptable to changing circumstances and must meet the needs of a sustained mission to every corner of the world and to every human heart.

Since she is charismatic and Spirit-bearer, *πνευματοφόρος και πνευματοκίνητος*, she can, as in the ancient days of the pagan Roman Empire, proclaim the Gospel of the Risen Christ with an astonishing initiative. By her sacraments and heavenly climate, nothing else could better recall to a forgetful and secularized generation the real dimension and meaning of life. For lack of an awareness of that dimension, the situation in many parishes has lost its savor and its mystical brotherhood, *κοινωνία, κοινότης*.

Undoubtedly, many improvements and gains have been made in recent years. Great credit for these advances is due to both the Church leaders and to the religious groups and movements and pious Laity, e.g. the *Zωή* brotherhood. But the question to be raised at the Orthodox Prosynod is this: When all has been said and done, is the moral and religious situation satisfactory in most of our countries? To the ordinary people of the street, preaching and teaching seem to be carried on in an unintelligible language, set in an obsolete framework, with little relevance to the needs of modern life.

Many things point to a diagnosis. A sort of "inner-mission stagnation" is partly due to the fact that historical reasons have confined the Orthodox Churches, especially in the Middle East, to the one-sided task of safeguarding Orthodoxy and keeping it untouched by heterodox attacks, thus cutting them off from the evolutions and happenings in the rest of Christendom. Thus, the prevailing attitude was one of defense and of temporary isolation.

The present challenging situation is for a renewal *ἑσωτερική ἱεραποστολή* and adjustment of both missiology and evangelism in the light of the threats posed by materialism,

indifference and apathy. There is a great danger that the Services and Sacraments be regarded in a habitual, traditional manner, without any real effect. The need for conversion (*Metanoia*) and re-conversion must constantly be the concern of pastoral care. On this point, the different styles, arguments, attitudes and strategies used by St. Paul, when writing to different Churches in his day, might teach us how to adjust the same salutary message of Christ to our own times and places.

That which fascinates modern man is perishable. He stands on fragile foundations. The Churches must rediscover and proclaim openly the meaning of the sovereignty of the Lord over this universe, the aim of which is not to transform this earth into a paradise of technology but into the ideal society where justice, peace and love will triumph.

The usual mistake in the pastoral field is to bring people together on the periphery. What is needed is to push them nearer to the source of perfection. "Piety of depth" is the motto of the recent revival in Greece. Through the Sacraments, the Church can develop a penetrating activity and can keep in touch with all its parishioners.

Concerning the social side, this is an age in which the members of every parish must be mobilized to share the burden of the Clergy; they must be awakened to the fact that the Christian life means much more than passive acceptance of personal benefits at the hand of God. It means action, undertaken for Christ's sake. Groups of men and women should go forward, penetrating all walks of life.

The Church today is in a dynamic society. There are issues waiting to be answered; in the face of these dilemmas people wait for guidance on the meaning of Christian responsibility in regard to racial issues, ultra-patriotism, and the dangers lurking behind a materialistic pattern of life, which might overshadow the ultimate objectives of the life of a Christian.

Better and More Clergy

If the ministry is to command respect and to meet the increasingly exigent demands, there must be a resolute determination to raise the standard of the Clergy. More adequate training need not mean more lengthy training. The Priesthood is a skilled occupation and it cannot afford to fall below the

⁵ K. Delikanis: Patriarchal Letters of Constantinople, Vol. 3, p. 684, Constantinople, 1905.

standards required in other fields. The trend nowadays seems to be towards acquiring a degree or a diploma from a provincial seminary (Εκκλησιαστικά Σχολαί). How long can the Church be content with that system? Can the Church tolerate a situation in which a priest is less well equipped educationally than the schoolmaster?

On the other hand, the content of theology, regarded as an intellectual discipline, must be widened and revised. It must include at least some study of man himself and the world he lives in, related to the ethical problems of our own day. That would give it concretion and actuality.

We must concentrate on the basic studies in the syllabus, on a more realistic study of Christian ethics and the liturgical life, since these are the key weapons of both the clergy and their future parishioners. But this study of ethics will have no body in it unless it is fed by some knowledge of psychology and of current social and economic conditions; the latter require "clinical" observation as well as reading about them in books of Pastoralia.

We must give more attention to the country clergy. There is one overwhelmingly important reason why the country churches should challenge some of the best of the Clergy to choose this sphere for their ministry, even as an experimental field in which new methods are tested for the Church's future strategy. In the big cities, the parish has long ceased to be a community, and the urban priest deals with an eclectic congregation, while in the country the priest enjoys the leadership of a community, and he can take the initiative and exert an influence upon all members of this community, even down to the smallest details.

It is a matter of fact that the standard of our parochial clergy *ἐνοριακός κληρικός* is not satisfactory from the intellectual point of view. The so-called experimental ecclesiastical seminaries (Φροντιστήρια, Προπαρασκευαστικά Σχολαί), did not produce the awaited results. From time to time many Archbishops had recommended various solutions and new training methods, but still the standard of the parochial clergy is far from being satisfactory.

The problem is not only of a qualitative nature, as far as the ordinands are concerned, but also of a quantitative one. The number of clergy is not sufficient. The number of lay-theologians has shown the greatest

increase. Although the Theological Faculties in Athens and Salonica produce many theologians every year, very few of them are willing to enter the Holy Orders. Apparently, they are afraid of the manifold tasks of the priesthood. The anachronistic clerical attire, the social status and isolation of the priest, the poor salary, especially of the countryside priest, etc. are among the reasons preventing them from being ordained.

Many articles were written suggesting the reformation of the clerical appearance and the readjustment of the social status of the priest. New necessities deriving from our changeable society demand new reforms. A forthcoming Prosynod should take this vital problem into consideration.

Liturgical Questions

Many devotional prayers as well as many liturgical and paraliturgical services were written to meet the requirements of the monastic life of former times. Hence, the rubrics and the ritual are too long. Moreover, the themes of some of the hymnographic literature reflect ancient doctrinal struggles; therefore many of the beautiful hymns no longer touch the feelings of the contemporary congregation. A future liturgical reformation would have to take these spiritual enemies into account.

In addition to the above, such a reformation would necessitate a thorough translation of our liturgical texts so that the services can be comprehended by the non-Greek-speaking Orthodox as well. A permanent committee, possessing linguistic capacities and thorough liturgical knowledge, should undertake the gradual translation of various liturgical books. The fact that the translation of these liturgical books was initiated by certain Roman Catholic theologians in France and Belgium as well as by some Protestants in Germany is both inadmissible and somehow humiliating. However, we have to admit that their motives are praiseworthy.

A committee of specialists, officially appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarch, should undertake the task of the translation of the liturgical texts. However, this is a common heritage of all Christendom. Suffice it to say that already several devotional prayers and hymns have been translated and are included in many non-Orthodox services.

Another aspect of the question is the Byzantine Music. Many abuses have occurred

in the use of this fascinating "Byzantine" melody. The Church has to define the boundaries between the real Byzantine style, which is an inseparable element of the Orthodox *ethos* and piety, and the Arabic rhythm of singing, an oriental intrusion which had slipped in during the years of ignorance and illiteracy. Thus there is a desperate need that Byzantine music be purified of these alien elements of profane music.

The Laity in the Service of the Church

A long time ago, the Church authorities had sporadically expressed their reluctance that the Laity participate actively in the various auxiliary offices. Apparently their hesitation was prompted by the deviations which had occurred in the past and their statements in this regard were designed as provisional measures to prevent such recurring.

Nowadays, the participation of the Laity is all the more necessary. The Church cannot object to the inclusion of the Laity in the liturgical life and to its participation in the Church's main mission in the world.

First of all, it is necessary to restate the rights of the Petrine "Royal Priesthood" which points out the essential role of the Laity in the *charismata* of the Holy Spirit and in the divine act of worship. The Eucharistic Service is an offering by the people which returns sanctified by the Holy Spirit to the people. The people should listen to the Eucharistic prayers during the Anaphora, and participate actively in all liturgical actions, even in the case of the election of Bishops. Such a participation requires nowadays a common singing, responses to the Eucharistic prayers of the priest and the common reading of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The re-establishment of the old ceremonial has occurred in the past and in more recent liturgical revivals. The same restoration occurred in the history of the Roman Catholic Church as well.

During recent years the Church of Greece has concentrated her efforts upon drawing nearer to the congregation. It was commonly accepted that more books should be written on the subject of the vulgarization of the very essence of the meaning and structure of Liturgy, as well as on the misinterpretation of the passive role of the Laity. It would be most advisable that the Pastoralia hand books which are used in most of the seminaries be readjusted in order to show that

the Liturgy is a real union between *Laos* and God, aiming at the people's sanctification.

The Attitude of the Orthodox towards the Non-Orthodox

It is a sad fact that, although the Orthodox theology recognizes the *koinonia* of all those baptized in Christ who serve our common Father and seeks to accomplish an approach to them, many disagreements exist as to the degree of participation and the kinds of contacts with the other Churches in the Ecumenical Movement. On the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople the communicated historical Encyclical of 1920 made an appeal to all the Churches of Christ for common action against the threatening enemies such as the de-Christianization and secularization of the world. However, the Patriarchate's voice and example for a *κοινωνία τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* was not followed consistently. Many misunderstandings among Orthodox exist as to the effectiveness and usefulness of the Ecumenical Movement in the World Council of Churches. Clergymen should be advised that the Ecumenical encounter is consistent with the will of Christ and the spirit of Orthodoxy, and that the exchange of views in a brotherly spirit aims at the eventual union of and mutual help between Christians. When our real fellowship in Christ is interpreted in the light of this principle, the deeply-rooted historical obstacles to fellowship diminish.

As far as the defense against heresies and proselytizing sects is concerned, a more informative literature on topics of importance should be written, and that in a popular language. The use of sharp and polemic language in our Ecumenical dialogues is not an edifying means towards the accomplishment of union. On the contrary, it is purposeless and harmful.

In this connection it would be advisable, while dealing with Roman Catholics, to avoid any irritating exposition or reminders referring to the historical errors committed in the past, in order to prevent the rise of perpetual religious fanaticism and suspicion in our generation. Moreover, many handbooks on Church History and many Catechisms tend to magnify the importance of the episodes which occurred in the past by placing undue stress upon them instead of calling for a joint manifestation of penitence for bygone events. The Orthodox doctrine should

be exposed in the light of our times and in a persuasive way, without offending the religious convictions of others and without any passion.

Marriage and Divorce

Although our Canon Law allows the contraction of a second marriage only in case of death, and divorce by an Ecclesiastical Court only in cases of infidelity, yet many abuses occur in this field.

The principle of *οικονομία* gives an opportunity for many abuses. The granting of divorces for unimportant reasons undermines the sanctity of the sacramental union. There is also the problem of identifying the policy of the Church with the Civil Law, as has recently happened in Greece, in the case of the strong argument between the Church and the State on the validity and acceptability of the 4th marriage.

Again we have to admit that an unhappy situation, often resulting in contradictory practices, exists because of the predominance of dispensations in many disciplinary or ecclesiastical cases. While this principle of *economia* must be maintained, yet it must equally be defined in terms of a more limiting but more illuminating guidance *ὡς δεῖ, πρὸς οὓς δεῖ, καὶ ἐν οἷς δεῖ*.

Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople recalls the wise words of Eulogius, the Patriarch of Alexandria in connection with this question: "Only then is a dispensation of any use when no harm comes to doctrine... and does not lead to any kind of innovation in the Church's doctrines..." (Myriovivlos, 227; P.G. 103, 953-956.)

Inter-Orthodox Relations

It is a matter of fact that the national element has for centuries been a disturbing factor in the harmonious relations between the local Churches. The Orthodox ecclesiology is not monocratic like the Roman. A confederation of local sister Autocephalous Churches is the proper definition for the Orthodox Church.

According to the well-known Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, in which the prerogatives of the See of Constantinople are determined, the elevation of a See depends on the political status, independence and expansion of the respective country. Following this principle, the same honorary pre-

rogatives maintained by the bishop of Rome were later attributed to the Patriarch of Constantinople when the capital of the Roman Empire was transferred to Byzantium by Constantine the Great.

It has always been within the traditional practice of the Canons that the See of Constantinople maintains the right to proclaim the Autocephalous state of a Church whenever the political circumstances necessitate this action. Concerning the Churches of Bulgaria and Russia, St. Photius had strongly supported their proclamation as Autocephalous Churches against the anticanonical intervention of the Pope of Rome.

As soon as the last two World Wars were over, a radical change of frontiers occurred in Europe. Many small nations were amalgamated while new ones appeared. It should therefore be necessary to examine the conditions under which the Autocephalous state of a Church is proclaimed in the light of contemporary events.

A disrupting factor in the otherwise harmonious relations among many Orthodox Autocephalous Churches is the maintenance of separate Exarchates in their Diaspora communities. The actual situation is deplorable, both from a canonical point of view, and as regards Orthodoxy's prestige in Europe. This anomaly was already mentioned during the Mount Athos Meeting in 1930. The late Metropolitan of Trabazon, Chrysantus, rightly pointed out the confusion and the anticanonical character of this practice, namely that of having in the same geographic area two or more *homodox* Ecclesiastical Authorities, quite independent of one another. Reference was made in this respect to the 28th Canon of the IVth Ecumenical Council⁶ which solved the dilemma of the Church of Cyprus which, because of barbarian invasions, took refuge in the See of Cyzikos, in the Hellespont. This is an example of the incompetence of two Autocephalous Churches, both of which were proclaimed such by an Ecumenical Council, to enjoy the same canonical prerogatives. It is, indeed, a thorny question, which causes a great deal of harm to the relationships between Orthodox Churches. The national element should make way for the supreme canonical authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with a unique exarchate

⁶ This Canon renewed and ratified the same authority granted by the third canon of the Second Ecumenical Council.

in Europe, embracing all extra-territorial National (ἐξωκληματικάι) Churches without any attempt to offend or hinder their particular customs and language.

Eventual Re-Union with the Minor Eastern Orthodox Churches

The Coptic Church in Egypt, Ethiopia and Armenia as well as the Jacobites in Southern India fall within the category of the Minor Eastern Orthodox Churches. No substantial doctrinal divergencies exist between their doctrine and that of the Orthodox Church. In fact, only a few differences exist in the formulation of certain articles of faith as well as a different terminology, resulting from local political conditions.

During the 6th century, as a result of the violent antagonism between Byzantium and Persia and the local political conditions, the Churches of Syria and Persia remained isolated, abstaining from the doctrinal and conciliary development of the theology in Byzantium, Antioch and Alexandria, and having ever since been petrified in the doctrine of Nestorius.

The present Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, on a visit to the Middle East Churches in December last year, addressed the professors and clergy at the Coptic Institute of Cairo with the following words:

"I salute you as brothers belonging to the same mother Church! I do not consider you as Nestorians and you should not consider us as Eutychians. There are many perspectives on re-uniting the Orthodox bodies into one."

As long as we wish our Church to participate actively in the Ecumenical Movement a similar Panorthodox Ecumenical Movement as well as frequent meetings should be organized in order to erase the existing obstacles and misunderstandings. To this effect, many students of the afore-mentioned Churches are already studying in the Orthodox Faculties in Greece.

Development of Missionary Activities

Since the 17th century, small Orthodox Communities have appeared in Japan, Korea and Alaska. This was mainly the outcome of Russian Missionary endeavors. Nowadays, these communities are increasing. The migration of refugees increased the number of Orthodox in all Continents. The Orthodox in the United States now number about

5 million. A special mention should be given to the very important conversion "en masse" exercised in Uganda. Respective figures report a number of 30,000 Orthodox and 15 priests, belonging canonically under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

This year, the project of the Church of Greece to supply material assistance and appropriate training for the priests of Uganda was greeted with great enthusiasm. A special Committee of overseas Orthodox Missionaries was appointed in order to promote the missionary spirit of Orthodoxy in Africa. Already 27 students from Uganda have obtained scholarships and are now studying in the theological seminaries in Greece and Halki. In addition, efforts are being made towards the establishment of a missionary body of doctors, nurses, social workers, etc., who, after having been properly trained, will be sent to serve in this missionary field.

The Service of the Church

Our starting point, before we make any attempt to speak of the service of the Church, should be the fundamental fact which was proclaimed to us, that mankind is living, both now and to all eternity, on the basis of the manifold service which God, once and for all, has fulfilled through Jesus Christ. This service becomes perfect when it corresponds to the hypostatic union of the two natures of Christ and seeks to compensate the thirst of the soul and human deficiency. With the death of Christ on the Cross, God has reconciled the world unto himself. In the Resurrection, Christ has triumphed over sin and death. And now the Lord is with us, through his presence in the Church, according to his promise, unto the end of the world and the end of history. Christ did not come to be served but to serve and give his life as a ransom. We have been bought and the price was paid. Christ became the first Diakonos and Servant.

The inevitable evolution of the social pattern necessitates the readjustment of the Church's service. The Church has to fulfil this task, since it is *Christus prolongatus*.

The word "service," διακονία, ἔργον, has been completely de-christianized in our times. It is hardly possible for anybody who produces any kind of work to rid himself of the presumption that he is rendering a service to the world. Generals and politicians, directors, scientists, the whole middle

class consider their work as a "service." But who is served actually? Man, of course, they would answer. Though in religion only God or an idea of God is served, man has now set up himself to take that place. In the new temples of this century the manager and the scientist have become the priests and Levites in the temple service. In the midst of this superabundance of service, what does the Church propose to do with her special service?

Her task is, in the first place, that, in an ungrateful world, she should serve God. Yet it must be abundantly clear to us that, in a world which is endeavoring to serve the human ideal, the true man or the real man, as conceived in the Orthodox anthropology, is eliminated. Already the modern priests and Levites, in their completely secularized manner, have gone beyond the needs of the real man. The real *diakonia* has been neglected for a long time and the Church is no longer the center of affairs. Yet, it is possible for the Church to become again the good Samaritan and serve the real man in his real needs.

In this manner, we consider the service of the Church as a testimony for the suffering and death of the Lord. A service is rendered only by a servant (slave), i.e. by one who interprets his actions according to the very essence of the meaning of this word. To serve is not an enviable task. True service presupposes the readiness to die. The seed falls into the ground and dies before its efforts reach fruition. The service of the Church in our day does not occur in opposition to the world but rather in the midst of the world. To serve is not to moralize, nor to hold up the mirror of times long past by disassociating piety from social activities. To serve should mean to proclaim the message of our solidarity to a de-christianized world.

There is an abyss between the traditional dignity of the Church as a *Mater Ecclesia* and the reality of the modern world. This world is not outside, but inside the Church. Thus, the Church has to share the agony and sufferings of her children. All our efforts in spirit, words and actions, all our ecclesiastical existence should be concentrated in the fulfillment of this service which the Lord deigns for the world today.

As Christians we should not only be recipients of the kindness of others and mere custodians of the sacraments, but also those who reward and serve our brothers.

Our institutions, our bishops and ministers, our theological study centers, our catechism, the whole organization of the Church should direct the members of the Church—the *Laos*—towards the fulfilment of this service in the world.

Facing the Revolution of Technology

A new system of automation, production and administration is being introduced in Europe.

Judging from the rhythm of the application of this new system in certain countries, especially the under-developed ones, the vast unemployment of the workers becomes inevitable. Moreover, a radical change in the conception of the work itself will occur, which will eventually modify the psychophysiological factor in every kind of business transaction. The old pleasure in work will be lost.

However, beyond the scientific aspect lies also the spiritual. After the application of the mechanical system, the real purpose of their work becomes a real question to many. Millions of our brethren in Asia and Africa, comparing themselves with the workers in Europe who enjoy the privileges of far more favorable working conditions, consider themselves as slaves, badly and unfairly treated.

With the advance of automation in Europe, how can we manifest our solidarity with the peoples of other lands, especially in the light of their poverty and inferior gains?

Nevertheless, there is nothing morally wrong in the establishment of automation. As long as its original purpose is not diverted to perverse human ends there is no objection to progress. Man is so paradoxical and contradictory that he makes a hero out of Prometheus, the personification of pride and defiance, and at the same time identifies God with Christ, whose humility and love had been misinterpreted and despised.

In fact we face a twofold problem, one which contains both a threat and a promise for the social economy. It also raises the problem of how to spend one's spare time. The Biblical axiom, Gen. 3, 19: "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread..." will remain without its essence.

The Church has to direct the application of this revolutionary system towards an accommodating solution in such a way that the efficacy of progress is retained, while at

the same time the harmony and homogeneity of the family is protected and juvenile delinquency is decreased.

BISHOP OF MELOA EMILIANOS

World Alliance of Reformed Churches

NEW THINKING and new program plans have marked the recent meetings of the Executive Committee, Department of Theology, and European Theological Commission of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (World Presbyterian Alliance). Coming twelve months after the 18th General Council of the Alliance in Sao Paulo, Brazil, July-August, 1959, the latest meetings of the Alliance planning bodies have sought to make use of a year's reflection on the needs and aspirations revealed by the Council to chart the organization's course for the next four years.

Following a one-day meeting in Geneva of the Department of Theology, August 8, 1960, the Executive Committee accepted the invitation of the *Reformierter Bund* of Germany to hold the 19th General Council of the Alliance in Frankfurt the summer of 1964. Discussions of a possible theme for the 19th General Council ranged over several concerns, centering on the concept of "the new man in the new age." Led by President James I. McCord of Princeton, the Department of Theology urged the Executive Committee to consider the importance of a return from the "theological parenthesis" of the last two decades to a deep concern with man and the human spirit in the contemporary social and cultural setting. No precise theme was chosen for Frankfurt, but attention was given to the possibility that a theological approach to the problems at hand might be sought through the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In an attempt to give its discussions a concrete reference, the Executive Committee devoted major attention to the emergence of new understandings of humanity in present-day Africa.

Also at the recommendation of the Department of Theology, the Executive Committee authorized a major study of the meaning of "catholicity" as understood by the Reformed tradition. The topic of catholicity was chosen as the most appropriate means

of investigating the presuppositions of all study done on a confessional basis. It was recognized as well that an ever-enlarging awareness of the issue of catholicity as it affects one's own confession is an indispensable basis for participation in every kind of unity negotiation. The Secretary of the Department of Theology, the Rev. Lewis S. Mudge, was asked to submit this problem to the Area theological commissions of the Alliance, to solicit the views of leading Reformed theologians, and to prepare a substantial working paper seeking to define some of the issues for the reference of the Department.

In the catholicity study, the Alliance will work very closely with the newly-appointed Secretary for Studies of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA. The Rev. Mr. Harold H. Viehman who joined the staff of the Commission in June, 1960, attended the Alliance meetings in Geneva and outlined the plans of his church for a comprehensive study of its "ecumenical posture." Directed in the first instance toward providing better theological understanding of the issues faced by Presbyterian delegates to ecumenical conferences, and by staff members of the Boards of the Church in their interchurch activities, the "posture" study will make contact at many points with the more general research into the meaning of catholicity being undertaken by the Alliance. The UPUSA Commission will direct special attention in the next several years to building up knowledge and competence within the Church concerning the history and theology of Eastern Orthodoxy.

At the annual meeting of the European Theological Commission of the Alliance, held in Zürich October 8-10, 1960, the catholicity question received major consideration. An effort was made through free discussion to reach some degree of consensus on the nature of the chief issues. No official report of the conclusions of the Commission is yet possible or appropriate, but the general lines of the discussion are clear. (1) It was agreed that the claim to catholicity is an inherent aspect of the being of any Christian body that claims to be the Church of Jesus Christ at a particular time and place. To exist as a Church at one time and place is to claim to embody at least the essential core of Christian tradition in every time and place. It is justifiable for a church to think of itself as "part"

of the whole Church of Jesus Christ in a geographical sense, but it is impossible for a church to think of itself as only a "part" in a theological sense. (2) Until the present century, the state of Christendom has kept the question of a theological definition of catholicity comparatively suppressed. The theological problem as such always exists, but it comes to prominence only (a) when churches of different confessions exist in the same geographical area, and (b) when it becomes urgently and practically necessary to recognize Christian bodies with which one is not in communion as nevertheless somehow within the *Una Sancta*. Neither of these conditions existed in a significant way when the basic confessional documents of the Reformation were drawn up. (3) Hence it follows that formulations concerning the nature of the Church which are familiar in our confessional theologies do not function today in the way they did when they were first adopted. For example, the familiar *notae ecclesiae* of Calvin and other Reformed documents (the Word, the Sacraments, and Discipline in their proper administration and form) were once used to distinguish between the true church and the false church (e.g. the *Confessio Belgica*, article 29), but they can no longer be used in this way. We are now in a position in which we must either critically seek in ourselves the ground of the catholicity of the entire church of Jesus Christ, or be content to think of ourselves as a "denomination."

The Commission labored with the question of whether it is possible to delineate any special understanding of catholicity characteristic of the Reformed tradition. Would it be possible or desirable to express a Reformed view of catholicity in terms of new *notae ecclesiae*, conceived in terms of the structure of ecumenical thinking today? In general it was agreed that any Reformed redefinition of catholicity must be related in some manner to the principle of *sola scriptura*. Is it possible, the Commission asked, to make this principle an effective standpoint for Reformed participation in ecumenical affairs? The Commission discussed the proposal of Professor T. F. Torrance of Edinburgh that the effective core of *sola scriptura* is "christological criticism" of all doctrines and practices of the church. The councils of the undivided church reached satisfactory dogmatic formulations of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, but did not carry

christological correction into the area of ecclesiology. Instead, institutionalism without theological correction became dominant in the Church. The Reformation could be viewed as the reopening of the question of catholicity on a theological basis, and this could be considered the basic theological question still before the ecumenical movement. Was it possible, the Commission asked, to attack this problem on the basis of some interpretation of *sola scriptura*?

It was noted that if the heart of *sola scriptura* is indeed christological correction of all doctrine, then this is in fact the fundamental theological principle underlying the present work of Faith and Order. On the other hand, the proposition that all Scripture is to be judged in terms of Jesus Christ is difficult to elucidate exegetically except by extensive resort to typology and that this argument may hide an implicit appeal to tradition. In the end, it may be impossible to speak of Scripture apart from the totality of the Christian tradition concerning its meaning, and thus impossible to speak of any stable definition of catholicity apart from the unity of the whole church both in space and in time. But yet if this unity were prematurely realized in an outward sense, the vital importance of reaching a theological grasp of the meaning of catholicity apart from existing church organization might be suppressed. What principle of exegesis, what understanding of the Bible, can make good the claim that the Word must stand over against the church and its traditions and judge them and not the reverse? Could such a principle, indeed, be an *exegetical* principle? Might it not, in the end, have to be a principle of church order? And, whatever the principle, would it not be vital to insist upon it in the very course of moving, with all our fellow Christians, toward a new understanding of the catholicity of the whole Church?

The European Theological Commission will sponsor a special two-day consultation with other Reformed theologians on these problems in connection with the European Area Council of the Alliance, scheduled for Zürich, August 22-28, 1961. Papers will be presented by members of the Commission dealing with the catholicity issue as it arises in Reformed relations to Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and "left-wing" Christian groups.

In other actions, the Theological Commission reviewed plans for the European Area

Council itself, which will be on the theme, "The Service of the Christian in Europe Today." A study guide written by Dr. Eduard Wildbolz of Zürich is being prepared for circulation in the parishes on this theme, which is designed to make a modest contribution to European Reformed thinking in preparation for the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches. As an innovation in conference preparation, Reformed newspapers on the Continent and in Britain are joining in the serial publication of a series of questions to which pastors and people are invited to respond by letters to the editor.

The theme of "The Service of the Christian" was especially marked for further study by the 18th General Council of the Alliance, which felt that too little thought is being given in ecumenical bodies to the concrete ethical problems and opportunities for witness which face Christians in the modern world. The topic, which is also being studied by the North American Area of the Alliance, will lead, it is hoped, to further insight into the question of "the new man in the new age."

LEWIS S. MUDGE

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

The United States

The Problem of Nuclear Weapons

IT IS NOW FIFTEEN YEARS since the first atom bomb was dropped. Three years ago the Space Age began. The man-made planetoids flung into solar orbit denote the vast frontiers of human civilization. Thermo-nuclear weapons presently available pose the threat of its annihilation. The potentialities of the Nuclear-Space Age are both staggering to the imagination and terrifying to the heart of man. They stress with new urgency an ancient counsel of God, "Behold I set before you this day life and death. Therefore choose life."

Ambiguity of Power

Power is always ambiguous. It may be used for good or for ill. Nuclear energy is no exception. Generally men have looked upon technological progress as a promise of prosperity. Today the great advance marked by atomic fission is seen by many as a portent of doom. Peoples everywhere are gravely troubled that the deep tensions and sharp conflicts between the major nations could lead to an impulsive or premeditated eruption of nuclear war. Their fears are not unfounded.

Biblical View

Political power according to the New Testament is ordained of God. Its purpose is the establishment and maintenance of peace and justice in a sinful world. Inherent in this power is the right to use instruments of force. However, since its power is divinely derived the governing authority has the right to use force only in a responsible way (Romans 13: 1-6). The possible demonic corruption of this power is also recognized. For the same political authority called to be a "servant of God" may become a satanic "beast" which blasphemes against God, makes war on his saints, and engages in imperialism against other nations (Revelation 13:6-8). Indeed, the use of force in the exercise of political power has always been fraught with hazards. The problems of this power are now greatly

magnified by the sharp rise in the magnitude of force.

Armaments and Foreign Policy

To be sure, the power relationships of nations today are not exclusively military in nature. They comprise, as well, economic, cultural, ideological and other factors. But military establishments remain possibly the most explicit element in foreign policy. Diplomacy appears to go hand in hand with military strength. In an earlier time, the great powers sent gunboats up the rivers of states they were seeking to influence. Today the explosion of atomic weapons, the firing of long range missiles or the launching of space objects are frequently joined with deliberate strategic moves in the cold war.

In times of more or less equal distribution of power the world has enjoyed comparative peace. Nations will generally resort to diplomacy to solve their differences when the risks of military engagement appear too great. This is as true now as in the days of mere conventional weapons. It is possible to argue that such peace as we now have is due primarily to an equilibrium of nuclear power between the Soviet Union and the Western world. This capacity of each to retaliate with weapons of total destruction, more appropriately described as a "balance of terror," may indeed provide the dispensation of time and the discipline of will for constructive adjustment and effective negotiation of differences. But there is no guarantee of this. In spite of the mutually deterrent effect of the possession of these weapons, the possibility that miscalculation, technical accident or political desperation could trigger a nuclear holocaust cannot be ruled out.

New Dimensions of the Problem

It must be recognized that nuclear violence is now a permanent potential in the power relationships of nations. This is so for two reasons: (1) due to the universality of sin we are a humanity with enduring possibilities of conflict; (2) the knowledge of fissionable material and its use in weapons is available and irreversible. "Thus the full force of our situation must be emphasized. We now possess the actual weapons, and we shall always possess the knowledge of how to

produce them. They have become a permanent aspect of human culture."¹ The practical problem for the nations in the foreseeable future is therefore not so much how to get rid of nuclear weapons but how to live with them.

That these weapons may play a deterrent role is affirmed by the present state of international affairs. In this sense it can be said that they serve not as "a terror to good conduct but to bad," which is the Pauline conception of the divinely ordained role of the civil sword. But if deterrence fails, then what? What responsible use, if any, can be made of these weapons beyond deterrence? In the past the right to wield the sword was considered implicit in the right to bear it. Paul had more than deterrence in mind when he said "the ruler does not bear the sword in vain." But with the development of nuclear weapons the traditional relationship between the deterrent value of the threat of violence and the coercive value of the act of violence has been radically disrupted.

Before the present age it was considered possible for nations to calculate the use of violence in a responsible way. No doubt this is the assumption of the traditional Christian affirmation of the God-given right of states to use instruments of force. The relations between violence and what were thought to be justifiable political objectives were by and large of a rational nature. It meant that the risks and liabilities involved in a resort to violence were generally not out of proportion to the objectives sought. Today the situation is radically different. As long as only conventional weapons are available, violence has a definite cut-off point. However, in the case of nations with arsenals of megaton weapons there is always the possibility of violence becoming uncontrollable and universally destructive. This magnifies the risk factor fantastically. It constrains us to ask what political objectives or vital interests of nations can justify a conflagration that threatens both the nations and their objectives with total destruction. Confronted with the specter of all-out nuclear war, President Eisenhower has summed up the dilemma in the phrase, "There is no alternative to peace."

No Alternatives to Strength

The issues in the dilemma are incredibly stubborn and complex. The world's two major configurations of power are deeply divided by ideological tensions and conflicting interests. Both possess arsenals of the dread weapons. The reality of these weapons has become an integral factor in practically every aspect of the relationship of the two sides to one another and to the uncommitted peoples of the world. They are the most explicit profile of the position of strength from which each approaches the other in the diplomatic contest over the issues that divide them. In fact it is precisely the present stalemate in their nuclear strength that gives some hope for serious diplomatic efforts. Certainly there would be little hope for diplomacy if the Western world were not strong. Hence, in spite of the terrible danger in the possession of these weapons we have presently no responsible alternative but to match power with power in order to deter communist expansion by force and encourage the settlement of differences by diplomacy.

Decreasing the Danger

But we cannot rest with such an uneasy peace. It would keep us prisoners of an open-ended arms race and encourage the spread of nuclear weapons to the People's Republic of China, and also to additional nations in the Western bloc, upsetting the present balance of power and increasing the dangers of an accidental war and the contamination of the atmosphere on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The leading powers must seek for ways and means to contain the spread of these weapons and to halt any further up-building of existing arsenals. More than that, they must prepare to take such steps toward a general reduction in nuclear arms which, while respecting the security needs and vital interests of the nations involved, will decrease the over-all danger and encourage the growth of a spirit of international understanding and cooperation. The development of a reliable system of inspection and control that this calls for indeed presents many formidable problems. But there are opportunities for some first steps.

Some First Steps

It is feasible to make a beginning by undertaking procedures for some control over the

¹ Quoted from *A Provisional Study Document on "Christians and the Prevention of War in an Atomic Age—A Theological Discussion,"* World Council of Churches—Division of Studies, 1958.

production of weapons. Certainly an international agreement on the cessation of nuclear testing is a logical first step. The peril of modern weapons lies not only in war, but in their production and testing before the outbreak of conflict. For the first time in history armaments imperil civilization even before warfare has broken out. Addressing the Geneva Conference on the Cessation of Tests, the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, speaking on February 10, 1959, stated, "It must be recognized that any agreement, however carefully framed, involves a measure of calculated risk for all parties. Yet in face of the atomic peril, so fraught with grave consequence for present and future generations, acceptance of such risks is surely justified. Moreover, every agreement is one more step in the struggle to allay suspicion and build confidence. To make tests to cease is important in itself. To demonstrate that international controls are feasible in relation to cessation of testing can, in the long run, prove even more worthwhile in the development of regulated and progressive disarmament."

Continuing Role of Armaments

At the same time that a general reduction in nuclear weapons should be pursued with all vigor, it must be recognized that complete disarmament of nations is neither possible nor desirable. No state, national or otherwise, can dispense with means of physical coercion. Because of the recalcitrant nature of individuals and groups in our sinful and fallen world, the state must continue to exercise its divinely ordained responsibility of applying the civil "sword" where necessary, for the sake of justice and peace and the general welfare of the community. We have been living under a pattern of nation-states in recent centuries, which will most probably continue into the foreseeable future. On the world level this system appears so often to be an instrument of anarchy instead of order. But until such time as we have some effective superstructure of international discipline nations have no alternative but to rely on armed strength to help guarantee their security and interests vis-à-vis other nations. With the reduction of nuclear weapons this could call for greater reliance on conventional forces.

Releasing Tensions

It should be recognized that the crisis in armaments today cannot be adequately handled apart from dealing with the conditions that give rise to the unrest and disputes among the nations. The arms race is not so much a cause as it is a symptom of the tensions in our world. As long as the underlying tensions are not reduced Soviet-American efforts to disarm will be frustrated. Negotiators should therefore realize that some form of political accommodation must be the prelude to reduction and control of weapons. Not a generalized or absolute approach, but a step-by-step proceeding that faces realistically the needs and vital interests of the parties involved is necessary if progress is to be made.

International Institutions

The dual question that remains is whether states engaged in this deadly arms race have the will and capability of settling their disputes through peaceful means and whether present day international organizations are adequate to the purposes. The best-informed students of diplomacy insist that disarmament or peaceful settlement involves less the adequacy of international institutions and more the will and interests of states. Within or outside the United Nations, ample and appropriate agencies for arms control and agreement exist. The substance, not the form of negotiations is important and the channels for discussion are more than sufficient. Indeed the twentieth century may suffer from the illusion that international institutions of themselves assure peace. Whatever their role may be in the future, today they can hardly be more than the forum within which conflicting foreign policy goals of nations can be harmonized. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld has said that the United Nations "serves its purpose only when it helps diplomacy to arrive at agreement between the national states concerned."

The Christian Stance

This analysis of the international dilemma will not be satisfying to those who call for panaceas or solutions that promise an end to dangers and uncertainties. Christians, however, should be ready to live with these harsh realities. Their faith prepares them

to expect a world in which deep tragedy and grave peril coexist with great achievements. A society of total peace and harmony is not hoped for in history. In this world men act in the shadowy realm where good and evil, security and danger are inextricably mingled and where to act involves both risk and compromise.

The church of Jesus Christ knows that even in these days of "men fainting with fear and with foreboding of what is coming on the world," the Son of Man who has come and will come again "with power and great glory" continues to rule over the destiny of history. Constrained by His relentless love the church is called to seek justice and peace in all the realms and relations of life. The Committee on Moral and Social Welfare reporting to the 1928 Convention of the United Lutheran Church in America said, "It is the church's function to teach its members that Christian righteousness includes within its scope civil righteousness, and that the Christian is bound to fulfill the requirements of this righteousness in the most effective way that the circumstances permit." (1928 ULCA Minutes, p. 114.) This means that today, when there is "upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity," Christians because of their passion for the gospel are called to hold the political world accountable to God's sovereign law at the same time that they proclaim to all men His sustaining love. Most of all, it requires that in her own life the church be so equipped in faith as to inspire the patience and courage to live with the dangers of our time. Also, in this faith her members have the resources to help make the present political relations less dangerous by being both responsible and compassionate in the hard choice which they as citizens and statesmen must make.

*Statement on the Problem of Nuclear Weapons
adopted by
the Twenty-Second Biennial Convention
of the United Lutheran Church in America
in Atlantic City, N.J.,
on October 13-20, 1960*

We believe that the great technological advances of the Nuclear-Space Age hold great promise for the future of civilization at the same time that they pose the possibility of its destruction. We believe that these new

dimensions of knowledge and power have developed under the sovereignty of God Who continues to rule over men and nations. In the light of His redeeming act in Jesus Christ we hold that it is His loving will that this new potential be used in the service of justice, freedom and peace, and that it is the responsibility of Christians to make every effort to guard against its destructive employment and to harness it for the general enhancement of the life of all mankind.

We recognize that, because of the pervasiveness of sin, war is always a threat; but we do not believe that it is therefore inevitable. Hence Christians are constrained by the love of God in Christ to join with others in working for the abolition of war and for the extension of peace, justice and freedom among the nations. In this process we must oppose and seek to overcome all forms of totalitarianism which deny the nature and destiny of man as revealed in Jesus Christ.

We urge the governments of the United States and Canada to wage peace and seek the prevention of war simultaneously by (a) assisting the economically underprivileged nations of the world to attain higher standards of living; (b) consolidating and extending their ties with free nations; (c) engaging with other governments in peaceful competition where important differences exist and in peaceful cooperation where fundamental principle is not compromised.

We urge the governments of the United States and Canada to support and strengthen the United Nations and its agencies. There is particular need to encourage the development of the rule of law as well as provisions to insure international security in a manner compatible with the security needs and vital interests of all nations.

We re-affirm that though conscientious objection to military service is rejected as normative for the church's political ethic, it should be respected and protected as a vocational choice for individual Christians. (Minutes of Twelfth Biennial Convention of ULCA, p. 138.)

We recognize that armaments are today a basic element in international diplomacy. Their possession in peace may serve to deter aggression. Their use in war for the purpose of defense may be justified as a necessary evil in a sinful world. Under no circumstances can aggressive or preventive wars be sanctioned. Armaments, both their possession and use, have always been fraught with

hazards, but they have now reached a destructive capacity which, if fully utilized, could engulf the nations in a holocaust of mutual annihilation. We are therefore convinced that the decision to have recourse to arms must be determined by the extent to which justice and freedom may be advanced. No nation is justified in the use of weapons of such magnitude as would result in the total destruction of human life. At the same time we recognize that the dilemma posed by the availability of these weapons can be resolved in abstraction only at grave risk. We are persuaded that this dilemma will remain a burden of mankind through the foreseeable future and that decisions must be made humbly and responsibly as each new situation arises. The dangers inherent in the nuclear-space age will be decreased in proportion to the effectiveness of agreements for the cessation of nuclear weapons testing and the reduction of national armaments under international inspection and control.

We call upon the governments of the United States and other nuclear powers to persist in the efforts to arrive at effective multilateral agreements on the cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons testing with provision for adequate inspection and control. Toward this end we believe that a moratorium on testing should be continued until every opportunity to secure such effective agreements has been utilized. We advocate this position not only because hazards to health will be thereby kept at a minimum but also because agreement on the cessation of testing could serve to allay suspicion and provide an international experience in inspection and control which are deemed essential to the regulation and reduction of armaments in a manner that will not endanger the security of any nation.

Recognizing that an open-ended armaments race poses grave peril for ourselves and all nations, we urge the governments of the United States and Canada to engage in untiring search for new and viable forms of arms limitation and control. We believe that this requires dealing realistically with the unsolved problems of the cold war. Any approach should therefore include efforts directed at relaxation of international tensions and settlement of political problems and calls for a readiness for step-by-step progress and patience with limited achievement.

RUFUS CORNELSEN

Germany

Pro Mundi Vita

World Eucharistic Congress, Munich, 1960

WITH GREAT EXPECTATIONS more than a million Roman Catholics from all over the world assembled in Munich this summer in order to attend the World Eucharistic Congress. During their stay there they experienced to the full the fabulous ability of the Germans to organize such mass assemblies. All were lodged in Munich and its environs, were well provided with food and drink every day, and all received the necessary information in one of the major languages so that they could derive full benefit from the Congress. About one million three hundred thousand participants were expected, including those from Munich; but since no visas were granted to visitors from the East Zone, the number of participants was substantially less. Nevertheless, more than a million people attended the final worship service, including more than five hundred bishops and thirty cardinals.

When a Protestant Christian attends a Catholic congress of this kind, three questions occur to him. First of all, what really happens during such a congress? Then, what is the content and significance of the congress as seen from the theological and Christian perspective of a Catholic? And finally, what significance does the Eucharistic Congress have for us as Protestant Christians? Let us try to answer these questions.

1. It is not at all easy to describe the program of a Eucharistic Congress, precisely because mass assemblies are augmented by many auxiliary meetings (about a hundred in Munich), all of which are significant for the whole. Naturally, however, the main meetings constitute the connecting thread during the entire week of the Congress.

The Congress began with an opening service of worship on Sunday, July 31st. A Pontifical Mass, attended by approximately sixty thousand, was celebrated by the Archbishop of Munich, Cardinal Joseph Wendel, in the beautiful Odeonsplatz in front of the Theatinerkirche. It was very impressive to hear the congregation, as with one voice, sing the hymns and responses of this German Mass. What they sang was very similar in outline to a Protestant worship service. I

shall long cherish the Archbishop's sermon on the theme, "For the Life of the World."

The afternoon receptions for the Papal Legate, Cardinal Gustavo Testa, were held at the Marienplatz (Rathausmarkt) and in Munich Cathedral. Here for the first time I experienced an atmosphere very different from that of the opening service of worship, and one that was strange to me. In the morning we attended a worship service conducted in the spirit of the Ancient Church, where the "Episcopus," together with his flock, celebrated the Holy Eucharist, whereas in the afternoon we met, so to speak, the Church of the late Middle Ages, the Church before which ecclesiastic and secular powers must bow the knee, the Church in one person, to whom all homage is due. This unique and, I believe, "symptomatic" discrepancy between Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon occurred, to my experience, again and again during the sessions of the Congress.

Finally on Wednesday evening the Congress was officially opened by the Papal Legate at the festival grounds. A huge gradated structure bearing a canopied altar was erected in the middle of the Theresienwiese. The participants were able to follow the entire proceedings since seats for seven hundred thousand, from which all could see, and an excellent loud-speaker system were provided. Following a litany in which the Saints of all nations were petitioned and the peoples themselves blessed each in its own language, the Legate read his opening address and the Bishop of Berlin, Cardinal Julius Döpfner, preached on the theme, "The Expectation of all Nations." The opening celebrations concluded with the Adoration of the Sacrament.

The services from Thursday to Sunday were based on the liturgy for Holy Week. On Thursday the German High Mass was again sung. In keeping with the liturgy for Maundy Thursday, twelve cardinals each washed the feet of twelve men.

Friday was devoted to meditation on the sufferings and death of Christ in a very concrete way, in that approximately thirty thousand participants visited the former concentration camp at Dachau. In a penitential pilgrimage the young people carried a large wooden cross the seventeen kilometers from Munich to Dachau, while the rest went by special trains. Three former inmates of the concentration camp reported on the horrors

which they experienced there, and a new chapel, the *Todesangst Christi Kapelle* (the Agony of Christ Chapel), was dedicated by the Suffragan Bishop of Munich, Dr. Johannes Neuhäusler, who was himself an inmate of the camp. This visit to the concentration camp was one of the highlights of the Congress for all present. In the evening, despite pouring rain, many took part in an Adoration of the Cross, similar to that of Good Friday.

Saturday was devoted to ecumenicity. In the afternoon thousands of people gathered in the Aula and in various auditoriums of the university to witness the session of the *Una Sancta* movement. In the evening the liturgy according to the Byzantine rite was celebrated at the Theresienwiese. The Congress was ceremonially concluded on Sunday with the Pontifical Mass, the center and high-point of which was a personal address broadcast by the Pope himself to the participants.

2. What, in the Catholic view, is the significance of a Congress such as this? Since its inauguration towards the end of the nineteenth century, the purpose of the Eucharistic Congress has been in a disbelieving world to give visible manifestation to the Catholic faith through the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

The fact that approximately a million faithful Catholics gather in one place to worship God with pomp and ceremony and that an unusually large number of leading personalities of the Catholic Church participate in this worship is in itself a manifestation to a disbelieving world. The Church seeks thereby to demonstrate her nature and her position in order to show that she is still today a vital power in the world, a power which dare not be overlooked, even though in the course of daily life she must often live in obscurity. She wants to show that she is truly a "catholic", worldwide and magnanimous church, which includes within its embrace not only Christians of all peoples, races and nations, but also of various rites and traditions. All belong to the one church, under the one Head, Christ, built on the one rock, Peter, because they are all "partakers of that one bread." (I Corinthians 10, 17.)

A Eucharistic Congress is not merely a manifestation in the external sense of the word, not merely a "show," but it is also a genuine witness. Here is not merely a dem-

onstration of the Church in all her glory, *sine macula et ruga*, but here also a witness of faith and true piety is made. The Gospel was clearly and powerfully proclaimed at Munich (I am thinking, for example, of the sermons by Cardinal Wendel, Cardinal Döpfner, Professor Karl Rahner and Bishop Hengsbach of Essen) and through the various liturgies praises were accorded the Lord of the Church, even though from a Protestant view-point the various ceremonies often placed too strong an emphasis on the aesthetic element and the element of "manifestation."

A powerful longing for the unity of all Christians found expression here, and that in a three-fold manner; first of all through the liturgy, which was celebrated according to all of the rites which are permitted within the Roman Church, in order, as was once said during a Byzantine Mass, to show the Orthodox brethren how much the Catholic church has in common with them.

The previously mentioned session of the *Una Sancta* movement bore living testimony to this longing as regards the Protestant brethren. On this occasion Professor Karrer of Lucerne gave an address on "The Eucharist in Inter-confessional Discussions" and Father Thomas Sartory (Niederaltaich) quoted some of the most famous statements of Luther, Calvin and the Confessions on the Lord's Supper in his address "Eucharistic Thought among our Separated Brethren." Nevertheless, a few of us, Protestants as well as Catholics, were to some extent disappointed with this session, since we had the impression that both of the speakers, despite their good intentions, evaded the real problems which separate us at this point. This disappointment should not, however, rob us of our hope for unity, the strength of which was underscored by the large attendance and unanimous interest in this session.

Pope John XXIII himself referred to the aspirations towards unity in his address on the last Sunday. He said, "Heaven grant that all who boast the name of Jesus turn to the true and full faith of Saint Boniface, to the one holy church. We must strive fervently for such unanimity in the unity of faith, for herein lie the sources of salvation and of the beauty of the spiritual life."

3. What is the significance of a Eucharistic Congress for Protestant Christians? Certainly, many Protestants in Munich and Bavaria asked this question during the year while

serving as hosts to the participants and following the preparations for and the event of the Congress. Some time ago their Bishop, Dr. Hermann Dietzfelbinger, addressed himself to this question in a pastoral letter and he repeated it in St. Matthew's Church on the final Sunday of the Congress in his sermon on the theme, "What does it mean to live in accordance with the Gospel?" The answer was clear and simple: the importance of the Eucharistic Congress for us Protestants lies in its raising questions which must be answered out of our own life and faith. Therefore, let us attempt to formulate some of these questions in order to see their relevance for us.

We often regard as questionable various Catholic sacramental practices, with their many rites and ceremonies, and, above all, their many customs (such as sacramental processions and benedictions which are far removed from the real purpose of the Sacrament (that it is a heavenly food of which we are to partake). However, although encrusted with ceremonies and customs, the Eucharistic Congress raises a question concerning our own use of the Sacrament. Do we in the Protestant churches make proper use of the Lord's Supper in that we celebrate it, as did the Church of the New Testament, every Sunday with "glad and generous hearts" (Acts 2, 46)?

We are very critical about the Catholic Church's display of "power," but through this very "display," which in our opinion nevertheless covers an act of true witness, the Eucharistic Congress raises the question as to whether we also are ready to make a concrete witness of faith and Christian life before an unbelieving world.

Throughout the period of the Congress thousands of monks and nuns were to be seen everywhere in the streets, but as Protestants we know that their's is not the only really Christian way of life but that even secular callings and professions, as well as marriage, can constitute a way of life which is just as faithful and God-pleasing. And yet, through the mere fact of their existence, they ask us if we are ready to give everything up and follow Christ, according to the word of the Lord: "... there is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands, for my sake and for the gospel, who will not receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children

and lands, with persecutions, and in the age to come eternal life" (Mark 10, 29-30).

We have to some extent grown sceptical of Catholic efforts towards unity since we know that, according to the Catholic view, unity can only be achieved when the separated brethren return home. We are disappointed when our Catholic brethren, even though prompted by brotherly charity, try to cover up this fundamental fact. And yet, having once experienced the profound longing for unity which Catholics have, and belonging to churches which are directly involved in the ecumenical efforts of Protestantism, we must seriously ask ourselves, whether we really desire unity, whether we are ready to make sacrifices in order to achieve it. After we have carefully thought these questions through, we may then address our questions to the Eucharistic Congress. We must consider, however, that the Congress at Munich was only one of a long series, and that one might have gained other impressions had the Eucharistic Congress been held in Spain, Italy or South America, as the reports from the various national Eucharistic Congresses lead one to assume. Let us address our questions to the Eucharistic Congress as such.

Turning again to the public manifestations and to the sacramental practices of the Roman Church, we must ask whether these do not represent a "sacralization" of medieval theology in which essential elements of Biblical and early Christian theology are pushed aside. Three concrete questions result from these abstract deliberations:

1. Is the Roman Catholic Church ready to admit that these manifestations are primarily an act of faith, hope and love, a witness to a disbelieving world, which she will attempt to make in an even clearer manner at future Congresses, or is that which we experienced at Munich merely a highly developed German Catholic version of something which is basically intended only as a demonstration of the power of the one, true, infallible Church.

2. Where lies the *raison d'être* of the Eucharistic Congress? Is it in the Eucharist as a fellowship meal (as in the ancient church), a meal which is an *act* of the whole congregation (*ecclesia*) in which it partakes of the heavenly food? Or is it in the Adoration of the Host, where the "Bread of Life for the world" is no longer interpreted in terms of the *communio sanctorum*, as the Sacrament which effects real fellowship between Christ and man, but as a *materia trans-*

substantiata which possesses a salutary power in itself? Does this support the tendency noticeable in Catholic countries for the faithful to attend Mass not as a community gathered around the Lord's Table but as pious individuals adoring the sacramental presence of Christ? And, finally, is the central context of the Eucharist not seriously neglected by an over-emphasis upon the medieval idea of the *Corpus Christi*?

3. Every morning in Munich priests could be seen at the side altars saying private Mass simultaneously with the main Mass. This phenomenon is based neither on canon law nor on ancient tradition. It is, above all, an expression of the view referred to under the second group of questions. Therefore we raise the question: Do these many Masses have any significance at all if the Eucharist is not regarded as a "work," i.e. either as an act of private devotion on the part of the priest, or as a means by which he secures a heavenly blessing for the world (the greater the number of Masses, the richer the blessing), but as an act of the *ecclesia congregata* (as was the case in the ancient church)? Has not, thereby, an element of heathen origin which completely contradicts the theology of the ancient church been accorded the central place in the Roman theology and practice of the Sacrament? The celebration according to the Byzantine rite shows clearly that such practice is not essential to the life of the true church.

These are our main questions. Further questions might be raised concerning Mariology, the theology of the ministry, popular piety and the general relationships between Catholics and Protestants, though these latter might better be raised in another context.

Thus the Eucharistic Congress both raises questions directed to us, and gives us an opportunity to put certain questions to the Catholic Church. In the days ahead, both of us must answer, whether we want to or not, out of our faith and life. It is important not that we counter immediately with questions of rebuttal, however legitimate and necessary they may be, but that we on both sides allow ourselves to be questioned and that we seek to give positive answers, for these might make a contribution to that unity of the church for which our Lord Jesus Christ Himself petitioned the Heavenly Father: "that they may all be one."

GERHARD PEDERSEN

Africa

Lutheran Episcopacy A Study in Church Order

THE QUESTION OF CHURCH ORDER is one that the Reformation as such did not settle. Various solutions were found in various parts of the church. But since the nineteenth century, and particularly with the spread of Lutheranism to the New World and to the mission fields of Asia and Africa, this question has been agitating the church.

The first paper appended below is, as the mimeographed original states, a study summary "worked out in a seminar of Swedish, Danish and German missionaries and discussed with African representatives of the Evangelical Church of Buhaya." This *Bukoba paper* (from the city where the Buhaya Church has its headquarters) deals with "the question of Episcopacy as found in the New Testament, Church History and the Lutheran Confessional writings."

The first Lutheran bishop in Africa was the pioneer Norwegian missionary in Zululand, H. P. S. Schroeder, a century ago. But the work which he began did not result in a continuation of episcopal order. The concern with the question of episcopacy has risen comparatively recently with the establishment of independently organized churches on a number of mission fields.

Studies on church order have been done by various groups and individuals. The one appearing here is not only the latest, but also probably the most thorough of those done by Lutheran mission groups, although it does not reflect in details the specifically African environment in and for which it was made. This study was undertaken from 1957 to 1959 by an international group of missionaries serving in an area on the western shore of Lake Victoria. Work here was opened by the Bethel Mission fifty years ago, but mission work has since the second world war been carried on on behalf of the LWF by the Church of Sweden Mission. Bethel and the Danish Missionary Society also contribute personnel and funds to help the young church, which now numbers about 50,000 souls. It is of interest to note that the first African cardinal of the Roman Church has his seat in just this area and that the neighboring non-Roman churches are mainly Anglican.

The study was prepared in connection with a reorganization of the church, which has recently been constituted (with an episcopal order) as the Evangelical Church of North-western Tanganyika. The Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika (with seven member churches) also became interested in the study, and, upon its completion, the paper was submitted to the Federation's Theological Board (with African and European members). The version printed here is the original Bukoba paper but incorporates in the footnotes the changes suggested by the Theological Board. A number of general comments by the Theological Board have also been added in footnotes. Because of the significance of the Board's discussions on the Bukoba paper, the central section of its report has been appended in full as the second document.

For full information the Basic Article of the Constitution of the Evangelical Church of North-Western Tanganyika is included as the third document here presented.

This study is of interest primarily because of the issues involved. But it serves also as one illustration of the theological problems that face the younger churches and of the way they work on these problems. We add here the acknowledgment of the study group, which declared its especial indebtedness to the Rev. H. Benettsson of the Church of Sweden Mission for his leadership as convener and adviser.

Episcopacy: The Bukoba Study Paper

I. CHURCH AND CHURCH ORDER IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A. CHRIST THE ONLY PRIEST AND MEDIATOR

The man Jesus Christ as the mediator between God and man (I Tim. 2:1-7) is the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world (John 1:29). As the eternal Son of God sent to God's chosen people of Israel for the purpose of redemption of all mankind, He has brought about the fulfillment of the moral law (Matt. 5:17 ff.) as well as the cultic law of the Old Testament (Hebr. 8:6; Rom. 10:4; Matt. 5:7). He did so by His obedience and the sacrifice of His own life. Thus He became the only mediator of the New Covenant, which will bring forth salvation to all nations (Mark 14:24 "for many"). Therefore (Phil.

2:6-9) God has not only given to Him an eternal priesthood in heaven (Hebr. 7:27), but also made Him Lord of Lords, the head of the universe and the head of the Church which is His body.

B. JESUS THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW ISRAEL

The Church is not just the creation of the exalted Lord, being rooted in the Easter experience of the disciples and the miracle of Pentecost. Jesus knew Himself as the "Son of David" (Matt. 22:41 ff.), as the "Servant" (II Isaiah; Mark 14:24; 9:12) and as the "Son of Man" in the prophecy of Daniel (Mark 14:62). Therefore He aimed in His whole work at the creating of a nucleus for the "New Israel" in calling the Old Israel to repentance and in "making" the Twelve (Mark 3:13 ff.), making them and the seventy (Luke 10) partakers of His own work, giving them temporary authority, which was given anew to the Twelve after Easter to proclaim the Kingdom until His return (Matt. 24:14).

C. THE CHURCH—BUILT ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES AND PROPHETS

The fellowship of the disciples with Jesus during His lifetime on earth was important, because their group became the nucleus for the future Church and made the eye-witness account of His words and deeds possible. The redeeming facts which gave birth to the Church, however, happened on Good Friday, Easter Day and Pentecost. At Pentecost the apostles were filled with the Spirit, to witness in the power of Christ Himself, about His deeds and eternal Lordship. As unprofitable servants they had received forgiveness, as sinners who had found grace, they had received the commission to call all the world to submit to their Lord, doing it in repentance by being baptized, and worshipping Him together with those who "devote themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2:42).

Thus the Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief cornerstone" (Eph. 2:20). It is through the witness of the apostles that faith is given not only to those belonging to the first congregation in Jerusalem. It is their word which orders the Christian life. In this respect the apostles are "prior to the Church."¹ They established

"the traditions of the New Covenant" (I Cor. 3:11, 22-23)² which received their final form in the Canon of the New Testament as the authoritative testimony about the living Christ, which demands faith from all men in all generations as the "norma normans" for all attempts to understand the glorious deed of salvation. Yet their unified witness could never be of such decisive importance for eternal life or death, had it been rooted in the private initiative of the apostles. But it is the Resurrected Lord Himself who speaks through them. He has given to them the apostolate with the assurance of His presence "even until the end of the world" (Matt. 28:20; John 14:26; 16:13).

D. THE CHURCH—THE PRIESTLY NATION

With the fellowship of the Church created by the preaching of the apostles, the new "Aeon" is beginning to unfold. Its members are taken out of the dominion of darkness and are "recreated" into the Kingdom of Christ (Col. 1:13), even if the powers of death are still at war with the Kingdom of Christ (Matt. 16:18-19). This rebirth takes place in baptism and melts the individuals and nations together into the one body of Christ which is the Church (Eph. 2:14; Gal. 3:28; Rev. 7:9; Acts 2). It is each baptized one who is Christ's brother (Rom. 8:29; Mark 3:31 ff.). It is each one who accepts His grace who is called "my son" (Matt. 9:2). Thus the Church as a whole is what the people of the Old Covenant should be, "the chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people," who shall declare the wonderful deeds of Him (I Pet. 2:9). The Church as a whole—as the body of Christ—has to pass on the witness of the apostles so that it is, or rather will be, true not only for a few, but for the whole of mankind: "Once you were no people, but now you are God's people; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy" (I Pet. 2:10).

This is the ministry of the Church towards the world, and her task within the economy of salvation until the return of her Lord in glory. All spheres of the life of the body, its "edification" is determined by this goal, since the Church does not exist for herself. That is shown by the pictures used in the New Testament to make clear her nature: "the temple," "the spiritual house" and the

¹ von Campenhausen: *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht*. Tübingen, 1953.

² Cullmann: *The Early Church*. London, SCM Press.

"vine" (I Cor. 3:16; II Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21; I Cor. 3:9; John 15:1ff.). All these things do not exist for their own sake. The Church is an instrument for the greater goal of God's plan of salvation, the coming of the Kingdom in glory.

E. THE BEGINNING OF THE MINISTRY

The body of Christ, commissioned with the task to pass on the witness of the apostles for the salvation of the world, is filled with the serving spirit of its Lord.

The risen Lord orders the life and witness of His Church according to the gifts He awakens in her. In the earlier years of the Pauline congregations this was done without fixed schemes or orders, yet there was a development towards the office of so-called bishops and deacons. A small group of men (bishops) was responsible together with their helpers (deacons) for the preaching of the Word and the life of the congregations (Acts 13:1; Phil.1:1). In congregations under supervision from Jerusalem the order of elders was taken over from the synagogues. The form of order in the ministry as such is not decisive, but the spiritual attitude towards them as "diaconia," and the goal that the Word should be preached faithfully, is.

F. THE BEGINNING OF EPISCOPACY

Since in the further development sound teaching could not be guaranteed by the congregations as a whole, the office of bishop was developed with perhaps already monarchical character (I Tim. 3:5). This meant that one bishop was the leader of the congregation and its elders and deacons. Even the first indications of a ministry on an "over-congregational" level can be traced in the New Testament (Timothy, Titus, the writer of Revelation). Persons had the responsibility for the leadership of a whole district or diocese, and therefore they could be called bishops in the modern sense, although we know nothing about their consecration and whether they served in this office for life. This ministry which has as its goal sound and responsible preaching is vicarious for the Church as a whole and is carried out in the name of all her members. This is not only for the sake of order (I Cor. 14:27-33). By the task of keeping the apostolic witness clear and calling men to submit to Christ, these

ministers receive an authority which cannot be derived simply from the priesthood of all believers. They have part in the apostolic authority itself inasmuch as their word, as the preached Word of God, is prior to faith and therefore creates it. This might be indicated by the way in which Timothy received his ordination by Paul in co-operation with the elders (I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6) as we might also see in Acts 13:3, where ordination is done accompanied by the intercession of the whole congregation.

G. THE MINISTRY, FOR THE FULLNESS OF THE CHURCH, IS ONE AND EPISCOPAL

The unity between Christ and His Church is described in the New Testament in terms of the head and the body (Eph. 1:22 ff; Col. 1:18). The head is distinguished from the body in this: "He is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in everything He might be preeminent" (Col. 1:18; see also I Cor. 15:23). Christ, the Head, possesses the fullness of God (Col. 1:19) and His body participates in this fullness (Col. 2:9), but for the body this fullness (perfection) is eschatological (Eph. 4:13). The full identity will take place at the *parousia*, i.e. the return of the Lord (I John 3:2). To achieve the fullness of Christ, the body has to grow into Him who is the head (Eph. 2:21; 4:15; I Pet. 2:2; see also II Cor. 9:10 ff; Col. 1:10 ff; II Pet. 3:18).

To this end the head "gave" (Eph. 4:11 ff.) to His body ministers (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers). Thus the ministry of preaching the Word has a divine origin. The ministers are commissioned to prepare the eschatological perfection of the body.

Their office is the pastoral care of the flock. This pastoral care is part of Christ's own office (*officium propheticum*), (Matt. 2:6; John 10:1 ff.), which He handed over to His apostles (John 21:16) and to the later ministry of the Church (I Pet. 5:1 ff.). Therefore their office on a congregational or on an "over-congregational level" is episcopal; that means it has to care for and strengthen the weak members of the Church (Heb. 13:17). As Christ is both shepherd and bishop (I Pet. 2:25), so each minister has to be "shepherd" and "bishop" (Acts 20:28; I Pet. 5:2).

H. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS

The ministry is the heir of the *officium propheticum* of Christ—vicariously, for the

full Church in full apostolic authority. Its members minister to the fullness of the body with the preaching of the Word which creates faith (e.g. Acts 2:14 ff.). Yet we do not know much about the administration of the sacraments, for example, to whom it was entrusted. The baptismal command was given to the Twelve only (Matt. 28:18 ff.). But soon after we see also Philip, one of the seven deacons, baptizing (Acts 8:16-38), and Paul does not see this as his main task (I Cor. 1:14-17). None of the New Testament writings, including the pastoral epistles, mention who is entrusted with this sacrament, just as they are silent concerning the administration of the Holy Communion. It can only be said that in I Cor. Paul makes the full congregation, not only its leaders, responsible for the unworthy way of celebrating it (I Cor. 11:17 ff.). There are no "priests" who need a special power for consecrating a valid communion, a power which is more than the priestly power of every Christian. Yet it is only natural that in the later development, because of good order which is necessary for the edification of the body, those who had the ministry of the Word also became responsible for the right administration of the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion, sacraments being the "visible words" of God's forgiving and healing grace.

I. THE MINISTRY IN RELATION TO THE RETURN OF CHRIST

The New Testament does not give many details about church order and church organization. This is due to the burning expectation among the first Christian generations of the return of Christ to judge the living and the dead in the near or even in the immediate future (Rom. 13:11 b; I and II Thess.; Matt. 10:23; Mark 13:30; John 21:20-22). This surely delayed the development towards a stronger, organized form of the life within the congregations and on the "overcongregational" level. Paul did not look for an organization of his congregations as "dioceses," because he expected the return of Christ very soon—up to the time of his work at Ephesus (Acts 19), even before his own death, (See I and II Cor. as well). Thus he was late in entrusting Titus and Timothy with this task for the churches in Asia Minor and Crete. The late "catholic epistles" of Peter, John and James try to strengthen the Christians on this "overcongregational" level. But even there nothing of a diocesan order

becomes visible. The fact, however, that there was no dramatic crisis in the history of the Primitive Church because the *parousia* failed to come soon, shows that the importance of this question should not be overestimated.

But it is certain from the New Testament, that a ministry which is not looking forward with urgent expectation to the return of Christ, fails to work fully towards the eschatological perfection of the Church. Instead it builds the spiritual temple of God with straw, not with precious stones (I Cor. 3:11-12).

J. THE LAYING ON OF HANDS IN ORDINATION

In considering the laying on of hands, the later theory of apostolic succession as essential for the Church has to be kept in mind. It might be summarized like this:

The apostles introduced episcopacy by the laying on of hands on the first bishops, who again ordained their successors by the laying on of hands. Where the bishops are not a link in this chain going back to the apostles (or where the Church has no bishop), there is no real Church with a valid ministry; and on the other hand, bishops with apostolic succession receive a special grace and guarantee that the Church to which they belong is a part of the true Church of Christ.

The Bible mentions the laying on of hands in connection with blessings, healings, baptism, the giving of the Holy Spirit, and the ordination of ministers of the Church.

The Old Testament has a wealth of material such as Gen. 27:34 and Num. 27:18-23, which, however, does not concern our question because the ministry of the Church is not a continuation of the Aaronic priesthood in the Old Testament or of any other office within the old Israel.

Jesus did not use the Jewish practice of the laying on of hands in commissioning the Twelve or others. There are only reports about His laying on of hands when healing sick people and in blessing small children. Luke 22:24 ff.; Matt. 18:2 ff.; Mark 10:13-16; 9:34-37 show that Jesus prayed that his ministers might receive His serving Spirit and the humbleness of children (also John 13). Their abilities or gifts do not guarantee the coming of the Kingdom and the life of the Church. Only His forgiving grace and the faithfulness of His love do so, not offices of any kind within the Church.

The Apostolic Period: It is difficult to get a clear picture of the apostolic period, as there are only few sources, primarily the

rather late witness of Luke in Acts. But we see clearly that according to the New Testament documents the all important mark of the life within the first congregation and congregations has to be seen in the "charisma" of the Holy Spirit. He is given in baptism; to be partaker of the Spirit means to have received faith in Christ, to accept Him as Lord, to remain in the teaching of the apostles and in the breaking of bread. Therefore, to be baptized and to receive the Holy Spirit means to live in the New Covenant.

But the Spirit also calls the servants of the Church, awakening and giving spiritual gifts, special "charismata," which make them fit for the work of the perfection of the Body and the salvation of mankind; given by God for the proclamation of His Kingdom and the edification of His people (I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6). But it is also said that those "charismata" are given through the act of laying on of hands in ordination.

Yet the laying on of hands must not be understood as a mechanical act, working somehow magically by itself bestowing the office. It is clear in Acts that at Baptism the Spirit might be received before or after the receiving of the sacrament. Thus also in ordination the act of laying on of hands does not constitute the ministry. The laying on of hands is the outward sign, "the visible word of the call" which makes the grace of the office visible. This office has grown out of the fullness of grace which is possessed by the "Holy Nation," the "Body of Christ," in the common priesthood of all believers. In baptism man receives the gift (charisma) of the new life and is set apart to remain in it. After the intercession of the congregation, a person receives in ordination the gift (charisma) of the office to administer publicly the Word which creates the new life, and is set apart to remain in this office.

In the New Testament documents there is still no evidence that a special gift in ordination is conveyed which gives the recipient, and only him, the possibility and ability to administer the sacraments.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ORDER IN THE EARLY CHURCH, THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

A. THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH

The actual development towards church order with the introduction of offices with

office bearers is hard to trace. The evaluation of the historical material is difficult. The disorder at Corinth should not be seen as a rebellion of charismatics against an existing, perhaps "unspiritual," ministry of Paul and his co-workers. The confusion was caused by Judaists trying to undermine the authority of Paul. This can, however, be said historically:

1. *The New Testament documents* show that the authority of the apostles is not the authority of the first bishops or church leaders. Our sources give us only one example that the apostles acted as a closed group of leaders (Acts 6:1 ff.) initiating the election of the so-called seven deacons in the earliest period of the congregation in Jerusalem. Furthermore Peter, the most outstanding personality among the Twelve, was the actual leader of this congregation for only a short time. He passed this task on to James at an early stage, in order to commit himself to the mission work (Acts 12:17). James, not Peter, presided at the "apostolic council" (Acts 15). What happened to this first congregation and within it during the time of James' leadership and later on, is hard to trace. But it is clear, as far as the Church outside Jerusalem is concerned, that the preaching of the apostles who came as missionaries, awakened the multitude of spiritual gifts within the congregations (see not only the Pauline writings, but also I Pet. 4:10). Those who had the special gift of preaching grew organically out of the number of other charismatics to be people who felt responsible for the sound preaching of the Word and were respected as such:

- a) In congregations founded or visited by the apostles the preachers got the confirmation of their "office" by the laying on of hands by the apostles. Where there were no "first fruits" who had grown into this office naturally, the apostles even selected people whom they considered fitting for such leadership, sometimes without asking the congregations for their agreement, even if it was natural to ask for it wherever it could be done.
- b) In congregations like Colossae, which were not founded or visited by the apostles but grew out of the witness of unknown lay preachers, bearers of the preaching office grew out of the charismatics without

direct influence of the apostles. Whether they were officially "installed" or "ordained" and how, nobody knows. In some cases they might have been confirmed by being mentioned in letters written by the apostles.

- c) Specially gifted ones, such as Timothy or Titus, were taken out of their local congregations to accompany the apostles to be commissioned by them for tasks of "overcongregational" importance. All these "office bearers"—some being directly commissioned or ordained by the apostles, some expressively approved by them in another way, and some only approved by their congregations—all received their task or service from the one root: the burning need for the sound preaching and teaching of the Word of Salvation felt as a vocation from God.

2. In the *post-apostolic period* three main lines can be traced in the understanding of the ministry of the Church.

- a) In the first letter of Clement (c. 96 AD) the matter of the right kind of church order is as important for salvation as is dogma and the true teaching. This is due to the importance given to the cult which is understood in Old Testament terms, the Christian ministry being compared with the Aaronitic one. For the first time in Christian writings the difference between officers of the cult and the laity is stressed (see ch. 41-45 and 59,1).

With the first letter of Clement a development of the conception of the ministry starts which continues in the Cyprian and Augustinian teaching. It leads to the hierarchical thinking of Roman Catholicism, where it is strongly emphasized that the Church and its ministers have inherited and are continuing the priestly work of Christ by the offering of sacrifices (the eucharist).

- b) The first enthusiastic representative of "Moniscopacy with monarchical character" is *Ignatius of Antioch* (martyred c. 110 AD). It must, however, be noted that Ignatius has no explicit doctrine of apostolic succession. For him the authority of the Church's ministry is not derived from a claim of inheriting teachings or bishop-chairs (as for Irenaeus) or from a

succession of ordinations (as for Augustine), but from the fact that the ministers are the earthly antitypes of a heavenly pattern, where the minister represents either God Himself or Christ.

Here the mystical line starts, represented by the Eastern Orthodox churches with their emphasis on the belief that the *Church partakes in Christ's work as King* and that thereby the bishop is the spiritual example and mystical center of the Church. (See e.g. Letter to Magnesia 6:1; Eph. 5:3-6; Smyrna 8:2.)

- c) The third line starts from the *pastoral epistles*, where Timothy and Titus are delegated by Paul to certain congregations to care for the sound teaching and preaching of the Word of Salvation. They should do so by appointing "episcopoi, diaconoi, presbyteroi" (bishops, deacons and presbyters). Here for the first time the ministry can be traced as a teaching office in the Church, on a higher level than the single local congregation. Its duty is to preserve the sound and true teaching.

This line is continued by *Irenaeus of Lyons*, who in his fight against heretical teaching maintained that the true teaching is transmitted by the succession of teachers and disciples. But a succession through ordination is foreign to him. For him the Church is the vessel of God's Spirit who has called some to be apostles, some to be prophets and some to be teachers for the salvation of the members of the Church. But he knows of only one ministry, since the terms "episcopoi" and "presbyteroi" (bishops and elders) can still be used as synonyms. His teaching about the ministry must be seen in connection with his conception of salvation as reconciliation.

Irenaeus knows of only one ministry of the Church, namely that of the *passing on of apostolic teaching*.

- d) This line, however, was soon lost with Tertullian's (he left the Church c. 207/208 AD) stressing a *juridical line*, and especially with Hippolytus, Tertullian was the first who claimed the *successio apostolica* as an un-broken chain of the laying on of hands, Peter having ordained Clement I. Through these two, followed by Cyprian, the institutional conception of the ministry

becomes predominant. Cyprian no longer sees the preaching of the Word of Salvation as the main task of the bishop or priest, but the offering of the eucharist, as a "true and complete sacrifice to God, the Father... as Christ Himself has (been) offered." The bishop guarantees the cult mystery, substituting for Christ, so "that the bishop is in the Church and the Church is in the bishop, and if anyone is not in the bishop, he is not in the Church." That means that "the Church is established on the foundation of the bishops" as a divine principle, Peter being the first of them. The validity of the Church rests on the bishops. Yet Peter's "chair" in Rome has not yet the primacy of jurisdiction over all the other sees; the unity of the Church is still guaranteed by the "mutual adherence of the priests," finding its symbolic center in the chair of Peter. "He who opposes and resists the Church, he who deserts the chair of Peter on whom the Church is founded, does he trust himself to be within the Church?"³

- e) *Apostolic succession.* The development of the post-apostolic period leads away from the New Testament understanding of the charismata in the variety of offices for the free preaching of the Word under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It leads towards the conception of apostolic succession as the foundation of the Church. Succession is received by the small group of the clergy by the power of proper ordination, which guarantees the truth and bestows a *character indelebilis*. Already *Clement of Rome* starts to draw a distinction between the laity and the clergy, but the laity still take part in electing the candidates. But it seems that they are installed into their office by "men of proper standing." "Presbyteroi" and "episcopoi" are still synonyms, and we do not know anything about the "how" of ordination. In opposition to this view, the *Didache* (c. 110 AD) gives in its apostolic regulation for church life only the simple rule to the Church as a whole to appoint bishops and deacons. For Ignatius the bishop represents God in the mystery of the Church; the presbyters,

the apostles and the deacons represent Christ; but he has no reference to any kind of succession.

With *Irenaeus* we have the first teaching about succession. He stresses, over against the secret gnostic traditions, the line of succession in true teaching from the days of the apostles down to his own. He uses the episcopal lists of *Hegesippus*, but knows nothing of a *successio ordinationis*, by which the ordained receives a special grace through the laying on of hands by those who have received the office before him, a grace which enables him to celebrate valid communion. He only stresses true teaching, the *successio doctrinae*.—How little the matter of *successio ordinationis* was regarded essential at this time might be indicated by the manner of his consecration. In the persecution of 177 AD he was probably elected and consecrated by his presbyter colleagues. We know that in the see of Alexandria this way of episcopal consecration was the usual one until the council of Nicea (325 AD).

It is not until *Tertullian* that we have the magical understanding of the unbroken line of succession, where the validity of church life depends on the fact that its bishops are linked up with men who presided "on the actual seats of the apostles and in their stead."

Hippolytus (died c. 238 AD) connects the Old Covenant and Jewish hierarchical thinking with the sacrifice as the center of Christian worship. Bishops are consecrated only by bishops, and the preaching of the Word is not even mentioned in consecration prayers quoted by him, bishops being "rulers and priests." In his ordination liturgies he makes a clear distinction between bishops and priests; the priests taking only a passive part in ordaining new candidates. To criticize a bishop means in his eyes to disbelieve God.

With *Cyprian* (died 258 AD) the Roman Catholic theory of apostolic succession as *successio ordinationum* is fully developed. The priest-bishop is the representative of Christ as priest and judge. Without bishop no Church, and without Church no salvation. When a bishop is "made," he receives in the laying on of hands (in the apostolic succession) a *character indelebilis*. This is finally stressed by Augustine.

³ Cf. *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority AD 96-454* edited by E. Giles, London: William Gloues & Sons. Page 54.

Jesus Christ is

PRIEST

KING

PROPHET

Old Testament

Clement (Rome)
(c. 96 AD)

Ignatius
(of Antioch, died c. 110 AD)

sacrifice—Eucharist

Tertullian
(left the Church c. 207 AD)
stressed the apostolic succession

Hippolytus (died c. 238 AD)

Cyprian (died c. 258 AD)
(Bishop of Carthage)

“Without bishop no Church, and without
Church no salvation.”

The episcopacy is the foundation of the
Church!

Thomas Aquinas (died 1274 AD)
The greatest R.C. theologian up to now

Irenaeus (of Lyons, became
bishop 178 AD)
stressed the ministry of the
Word, and the succession of
true teaching. The Holy
Spirit is the foundation of
the Church! (Cf. Cyprian)

ROMAN CATHOLIC
TEACHINGGREEK ORTHODOX
TEACHING*Martin Luther* (died 1546)
REFORMATION
TEACHINGB. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND THE ANGLICAN
TEACHING ABOUT EPISCOPACY1. *About the Ministry*a) *The Roman Catholic Teaching*

The essential act of the priesthood is the offering of the sacrifice in the Eucharist, imitating the “one Mediator between God and Man” (contrary to Heb. 7:27). The power to do so is one and indivisible, and therefore the priesthood is one and indivisible. All who have been ordained possess equally the order and power of the priesthood and the same *character indelebilis*. Consequently, the episcopate is not an order distinct from the presbyterate, because the bishop has no higher power to offer the Eucharist than the simple priest. But in the *sacerdotium* there are two divinely appointed degrees, the episcopate and the presbyterate. Only the bishop can transmit to others the power to consecrate the Eucharist, and he is therefore superior to the priest. (This teaching was developed in its final form by Thomas Aquinas, 1225-1274, and the Council of Trent, 1545-1563).

b) *The Anglican Teaching*

The Book of Common Prayer states that since the apostles' days there have been three orders of ministers in the Church, known by the titles of bishops, priests and deacons.

There are according to the Anglican view only two main theories of the origin of the Christian ministry: 1) the minister is the elected delegate of the congregation and gets his authority from his people; 2) The minister gets authority from the Lord.

Christ Himself was 1) the Prophet who should teach men about God; 2) the Priest who should reconcile men to God, and 3) the King who should subdue men to God. He still exercises these offices through a divinely appointed ministry (*Ubi sacerdos, ibi Christus*). The continuity was given by the apostles who had all authority and in their lifetime selected members to succeed them as heads of the churches.

2. *Is the Episcopacy essential to the Church?*a) *The Roman Catholic Teaching*

It is a fundamental doctrine that bishops are of divine institution, to guarantee the

permanence of the ministry and its validity, as the Pope guarantees the validity of the Church as a whole.

b) *The chief divergent views within the Church of England*

- 1) "Without bishop no Church" = the episcopate is of the *esse* of the Church, necessary to and guaranteeing its existence.
- 2) Episcopacy is of the *bene esse* of the Church, as the best method of church government, but not indispensable.
- 3) A third view can now be found: Episcopacy is necessary to the fully developed Church; it is of the *plene esse* of the Church.

3. *With respect to Apostolic Succession*

The Roman Catholic and the traditional Anglican "esse" view is that the Apostolic succession is the guarantee of a valid ministry with valid sacraments. "Valid" implies the fulfilment of God's conditions whereby certainty is achieved. Loss of the apostolic tradition would result in the dying out of the Church as the Lord constituted it.

(From the Roman point of view the Anglican ministry is not valid. One of the reasons is that the Anglican Church rejects the jurisdiction of the see of Peter. In consequence the Anglican apostolic succession is denied by Rome.)

The Anglican theologians holding the *plene esse* view⁴ say: The Church stands between the Kingdom established and the Kingdom to come—always in relation to the Kingdom. We cannot understand the Church and the Ministry until we get our eschatology straight. When the orientation towards Christ's return is lost, the Church has to become her own guarantee. Without the guarantee of the end, everything was made to depend on continuity with the beginning. The ministry became rooted, not as in New Testament times in the present gift of the Church's ascended Head, but in the Jesus of history. It is validated by looking back to Christ. The historical succession was grasped as a guarantee for the ministry. The episcopacy became the mark of its very existence instead of being an organ of its life.

The conclusion of the "plene esse" teaching:

A Church without continuity in time is as sinful and broken as a Church without unity in space. We cannot say that an historic episcopate and apostolic succession are matters indifferent to the Body of Christ. There is the outward visible expression of the Church's catholicity and apostolicity. But we should not "unchurch" any part of the Body that for historical reasons has failed to preserve it. The episcopacy is dependent on the Church and not the Church on the episcopacy. Its possession is a necessary mark of the Church's fullness, but not an indispensable qualification for being Church. It is not what makes the Church but without it the Church can never express the plenitude of its being as the one Body of Christ in history.

III. THE MINISTRY ACCORDING TO MARTIN LUTHER AND THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

The Lutheran Confessions place the Eumenical Symbols first, thus maintaining continuity with the Early Church.

A. THE FUNCTION OF THE MINISTRY IS PREACHING THE WORD

Luther calls the ministry "the office of the Word," thus reviving the prophetic part of Christ's threefold office. The office bearer is servant of the Word, representing Christ. He *is* His Word. Grace is not transforming power infused in man, but the *favor Dei* met in God's Word. Luther combines the Word as a constituting factor with the sacraments (being the "visible Word"). Christ incarnate is present in the human voice of the preacher in a sermon, He is present in water, bread and wine. "It is the service of the Word that makes the priest and the bishop" (vid. "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church").

The Bible is a message—the message itself is still part of God's activity. The sermon is the continuation of the New Testament. Luther writes in the explanation to Ps. 8:3, "Everybody who governs Christ's people with the Word must be timid and humble and exert himself regarding the pureness of the Word, be eager to bear forward the free Word and that alone."

⁴ Cf. *The Historic Episcopate*, edited by Kenneth M. Carey, Westminster: Dakre Press, 1955. Pp. 18-19.

B. THE OFFICE IS ONE

1. *The office is, jure divino, one, i.e. the office of the Word is endowed with the same power for each office holder within the ministry.*⁵ "Because the message is one, nobody could be superior to the other because of his office." Christ has only one body—thus the minister has no rank above the lay people.

Melanchthon says in *Of the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops* (60-62), "The Gospel assigns to those who preside over churches the command to teach the Gospel, to remit sins, to administer the Sacraments, and besides jurisdiction, namely, the command to excommunicate those whose crimes are known, and again to absolve those who repent.

"And by the confession of all, even of the adversaries, it is clear that this power by divine right is common to all who preside over churches, whether they are called pastors or elders or bishops. And accordingly Jerome openly teaches in the apostolic letters that all who preside over churches are both bishops and elders... For with the exception of ordination what does the bishop that the elder does not?

"Jerome, therefore, teaches that it is by human authority that the grades of bishop and elder or pastor are distinct."⁶

The office given by God is one and the same. In the Smalcald Articles, Part II, Art. IV: 1-2 is said: "The Pope is not, according to divine law or according to the Word of God the head of all Christendom (for this name belongs to One only, whose name is Jesus Christ), but is only the bishop and pastor of the Church at Rome and of those who voluntarily or through a human creature... have attached themselves to him, to be Christians, not under him as a lord, but with him as brethren (colleagues) and comrades..."

2. The Office of the Word includes all other Offices

To distinguish between bishops, priests and deacons is a good human order.⁷ It

belongs to the *bene esse* of the Church. The commission to represent Christ in all His work exceeds the possibility of one person. Thus the services are distinguished. Luther reinterpreted the episcopacy in terms of the New Testament and the Early Church (see Smalcald Articles Part II: Art. IV and Part III: Art. X. See also Apology of the Augsburg Confession: Art. XIV). Accordingly, Luther taught that the office must be concerned with the true teaching of the Word, and thus he broke off with the Roman Catholic teaching which says that the episcopal office is crowned by a certain grace, *charisma veritatis*, through which the office bearer (bishop) has the power to judge and decide concerning doctrines and a special liturgical power to administer the sacraments.

3. The Authority of the Congregation

Luther stresses (in opposition to the Anabaptists) that the office must be received *from God through the congregation*. This authority of the congregation depends on the fact that the right office of preaching belongs to all Christians through faith and baptism. All have the authority to preach, but not all should use this their authority. In the Augsburg Confession it is stressed that nobody ought to be allowed to preach who has not received canonical ordination. *Rite vocatus* (to be rightly called) is essential (Apology: Art. XIV).

The authority of the congregation rests on the universal priesthood of all believers. Christ alone is King, but all Christians have a share in His Kingship through their baptism and faith. The universal priesthood has been received by righteousness through faith; thus it is not an organizational thesis. There is the special ministry receivable through ordination, which is responsible for the public preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments (*Minister Verbi Divini*).

C. ORDINATION

Ordination does not bestow a special power or grace but is the public confirmation of nomination, the handing over of the public ministry to the office bearer elected by the congregation. The bishop installs through the laying on of hands, which means that he publicly confirms that the nomination

⁵ This fact was stressed by the Theological Board of the Federation of Lutheran Churches of Tanganyika in its study of this paper.

⁶ The Theological Board: "It was stressed that though the Ministry is one 'jure divino' this Ministry included different offices *jure humano* (by human authority). This refers to offices such as evangelist, teacher of the Word, district pastor, bishop, congregational pastor, president, and superintendent.

⁷ The Theological Board: "The introduction of episcopacy into a Church is only a matter of church order (*jure humano*) as each Church seeks the most feasible way for its edification as a member of the Body of Christ."

is right. The ordination by a bishop is not used *jure divino* but as a pious custom from the early days of the Church, and ought to be kept *jure humano*. (In the emergency situation of the German Reformation this teaching led to ordination of pastors by others than bishops. See *Of the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishop*: 65-66.)

D. THE OFFICE IS SPIRITUAL

The Church and her office are *in* the world, but are *not of* the world. Therefore the office bearer has no worldly power or jurisdiction. In the Apology of the Augsburg Confession: Art. XXVIII, p. 13 is said: "We are pleased with the ancient division of power into power of the *order* and power of *jurisdiction* (that is, the administration of the Sacraments and the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction)." Luther warns against mixing the spiritual sword and the secular. The office bearer represents Christ. He is nothing in himself but *servant of the Word*. If the bishops have any worldly power, they do not have it as bishops in virtue of the order of the gospel, but *jure humano*. *Jure divino*, the bishops, like all other ministers, are given the spiritual power of communicating the forgiveness of sins through the Word, and the Word alone.

The conception of the office in the late Middle Ages had been connected by the idea of merit. The Holy Communion was looked upon as a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. By virtue of his ordination, the priest was said to make this repetition. The prophetic function was hidden through the neglect of the preaching of God's Word, and the pastoral work of the episcopal office was exchanged for worldly domination.

E. THE OFFICE IS ORDAINED BY GOD

The Service in the office goes *from* God, not *to* God. It comes *to* us, not *from* us. It is always directed towards the neighbor, to serve him. The office is the tool of God for building His Church, it belongs to the church's *esse*, not only to its *bene esse*. It is a constituting factor of the Church. The Augsburg Confession Art. V says: "That we may obtain this faith, the Ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted."

To profess oneself a member of the Church of the Reformation means with Luther to

appeal to the Scriptures. Thus the attitude to ecclesiastical order formed at the Reformation is not sacred in itself.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: WHAT IS A BISHOP?

As we have seen, since the time of the New Testament the Church has known only one ministry essential for its being: the ministry giving the gifts of Grace through the Word and the Sacrament, unfolding on the congregational and the overcongregational level. In early Church history, the ministry was divided into different offices on the congregational and overcongregational levels. Soon the bearers of the office on the overcongregational level were called bishops.

Their ministry shall lead the Church⁸ towards the fullness and true edification of the Body of Christ, in caring for the apostolic teaching.

Thus a bishop is:

- a) Preacher of the Word of Salvation together with all other ministers (*primus inter pares*), bound with them in ordination by the confessional writings to be obedient to the Word of God as found in the Holy Scriptures.
- b) The one who is set aside as pastor to the pastors, caring for them as a pastor cares for his congregations (*pastor pastorum*).
- c) Caring for the true teaching of the Church (*custos veritatis*), and watching that discipline of teaching is practised and maintained properly.
- d) Giving special care to the right training of new candidates for the ministry, to their examination and ordination (*ordinator ministrorum*)⁹.
- e) The stimulator of the spiritual life of the Church by visiting and helping the pastors in their work and their congregations (*visitor ecclesiae*). Therefore a bishop should not have a big diocese.
- f) The link between the local Church and the Church Universal. In his office it becomes visible that his diocese is but a part and a local realization of the Church Universal. For he serves by virtue of his ministry¹⁰ and in the name of his diocese,

⁸ The Theological Board added: in unity with all ministers.

⁹ The Theological Board dropped: (*ordinator ministrorum*).

¹⁰ The Theological Board added: given to him by the Lord.

the Church Universal and he serves also as an intermediary link between the Church Universal and his diocese.

This finds¹¹ its expression in the following ways:

- 1) The bishop's election and consecration. In the present church situation in Tanganyika a representative of the homeboard concerned should be called¹² as adviser to the nominating body, but the decision should be in the hands of the local church (Synod). In the future, if this link be cut off, a representative (leader) of the Church Federation concerned should take over this task. In consecrating the bishop the oneness of the ministry of the Church becomes visible by a consecration through another bishop,¹³ assisted by two or more ministers and if possible other church leaders (Fungamano and other churches in altar and pulpit fellowship).

(Here is the place where apostolic succession as *successio ordinationis* comes in, not as a magic act giving validity to the office, but as visualizing the fact that the office of the Church is not bound to time and place, but is the same from the time of the apostles until the return of Christ, and is the same wherever God's Word is preached and the Sacraments are truly administered.)

Here also the question of ordination by church leaders without *successio apostolica* comes up. This ordination is valid as far as the ordained ones are bound to the apostolic teaching and have received the public ministry for the edification of the Body of Christ under intercession of the congregation gathered in the Holy Spirit, and by laying on of hands.

At this point the Anglican *plene esse* view (see II B 3) is not clear enough. For the visible expression of the catholicity and apostolicity of the Church cannot be seen in having or not having the heritage of the historic episcopate

by *successio ordinationis*, but in the *consensus doctrinae apostolicae*, which makes us waiting to be changed into His fullness in His coming in glory.)¹⁴

- 2) Where the bishop ordains new candidates into the one ministry of the Church. For when a pastor is transferred to another diocese, he will not be reordained.
- 3) When the bishop takes part in the consecration of other bishops.¹⁵
- 4) When he takes responsible part in the ecumenical gatherings and decisions.
- g) The bishop is not the administrator of his diocese. For this task he has to have somebody at his side, layman or pastor.
- h) He exercises church-leadership in unity with the Synod and the Synodal Council. He is the chairman of both. He decides in the Synodal Council together with its members about matters of the daily life of the Church, and the preparations for the meeting of the Synod. The Synod takes part in all principal decisions necessary for the right functioning of the Church.
- i) He is the spiritual leader of the Church, and as chairman of the Synod he reports to it about the life of the Church.
 - 1) In matters dealing with true doctrine the bishop should have the right of veto against decisions of the Synod. This means in case of disunity a matter has to be reconsidered by the committee concerned and the decision has to be postponed to another meeting. The bishop and the Synod have to decide in unity about doctrinal matters and the binding doctrine of the Church.¹⁶
 - 2) In matters of church-order the bishop shall have the same right as each member of the Synod.¹⁷
 - 3) If a bishop fails in his teaching or conduct of life and work, he shall at first be admonished by the Synodal Council and the pastors' conference.

¹⁴ The Theological Board changed and shortened to: Here is the place where apostolic succession as *successio ordinationis* might come in, not as a magical act, giving validity to the office, but as visualizing the unity and continuity of the church.

¹⁵ The Theological Board added: or other church leaders.

¹⁶ The Theological Board weakened this to: In matters dealing with true doctrine the bishop should be able to transfer a matter from the Synod to a committee to deal with doctrinal questions for further discussions and clarification. The matter then goes back to the Synod to be decided on.

¹⁷ The Theological Board changed: in matters of church organization and administration...

¹¹ The Theological Board change: might find.

¹² The Theological Board proposed: a representative... could be called as a representative of the Church Universal and as adviser.

¹³ The Theological Board change: ... by a consecration through another church leader (president, bishop, superintendent), assisted by...

If he refuses to listen, the Synodal Council shall call a representative of the home-board concerned as adviser. In the future, if this link be cut off, a representative of the Church Federation concerned should take over this task. In unity with him the Synodal Council should work out a report with proposals to the Synod to be acted upon. If necessary, the Synod can dismiss the fallen bishop by a vote of 2/3 majority of all voting members.

Discussion on the Bukoba Study Paper by the Theological Board of the FLCT

1. Regarding the Names "bishop" and "superintendent"

We find in the New Testament that the word "episcopos" was not used in the sense of overcongregational leader but for congregational leaders. During Reformation times the Greek word "episcopos" (bishop) was translated into Latin as "superintendent" meaning a person responsible for the spiritual care of a limited number of congregations.

Bukoba Church: The proposed introduction of episcopacy in the Bukoba Church is merely a change of names from superintendent to bishop and a change in church order. The reasons for this change given by the Bukoba delegates are as follows:

- a) The bishop as proposed would be a spiritual leader free from administrative duties for the spiritual care in his Church.
- b) The bishop as proposed would assure the continuity of church leadership over against the present superintendent system.
- c) The proposed episcopacy would visualize the ecumenical link with the church universal.
- d) The name "bishop" has a certain dignity which the terms "president" and "superintendent" do not possess.

Theological Board: As a Theological Board we state that all that has been said in "a" to "c" about the bishop and the proposed episcopacy in Bukoba could also be said about a superintendent and a church government under him.

2. Duration of the Office of Bishop

According to the Lutheran confessional writings nothing is stated regarding the duration of the office of bishop, which could be either for the duration of life or for a period of time. Examples of this are seen in European countries where the office is for life, and in the church of New Guinea where the office is for a period of time, which is six years. (For information: The Lutheran Church of New Guinea supported by the American Lutheran Church, the Neuendettelsau Mission, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia and the Leipzig Mission has deemed it advisable to break with the traditional and continental practices of electing a bishop for life and has adopted the practice of election for a definite period of time.)

3. Character of the Office of Bishop

- a) We agree with the Bukoba paper that the bishop is not the administrator or ruler but the spiritual leader in the Church.
- b) Discussion arose in the Theological Board because of the section of the Bukoba paper (IV, i, 1) which states "In matters of true doctrine he (the bishop) should have the right of veto against decisions of the Synod." This was changed by the Theological Board. The Bukoba representatives agreed entirely with this change.

4. The Oneness of the Church

- a) In the Augsburg Confession Art. VII we are reminded that the true unity of the Church is found in agreement on the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, that is, rites or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike.
- b) The Bukoba Church feels that the oneness of the Church is to become visible 1) by having a representative from the Home Board or the FLCT (a church in pulpit and altar fellowship) as adviser for the nomination of the bishop, and 2) by the following order of consecration as found in the proposed change of constitution of the Bukoba Church: "The Synodal Council will ask, in agreement with the FLCT, a bishop of another Lutheran Church to consecrate the bishop elected. The conse-

crating bishop shall be assisted by two pastors of the Evangelical Church of North-Western Tanganyika and some leaders of other churches in pulpit and altar fellowship (FLCT)."

- c) *The Theological Board* feels that the emphasis of the Bukoba paper that the bishop should be consecrated by another Lutheran bishop is not making visible the oneness of the Church since it rather reveals the disunity of Lutheran church order. It was stated by the Bukoba delegates that the new bishop should be consecrated by another bishop because of the possibilities of discussions with the Anglican Church on an ecumenical basis. However, the Bukoba delegates informed us that it has been agreed that the Bukoba Church does not consider the consecration of a bishop by another bishop to be the exclusive way for consecration. In an emergency a bishop could be consecrated by authorized representatives of the Church (pastors, superintendents and presidents). However, the Theological Board is sorry that this *verbal agreement* has never been written down by the Bukoba Church.

5. Consecration and Ordination

- a) The consecration of a bishop is not a new ordination but putting him aside for one special office within the one ministry.
- b) The consecration with or without Apostolic succession by laying on of hands makes no difference to the nature of the office of bishop, because the true Apostolic succession is succession of Apostolic teaching.
- c) In ordaining new ministers a bishop with Apostolic succession does not bestow a more valid ordination than other ordaining church leaders.

The Basic Article of the Constitution of the Evangelical Church of North-Western Tanganyika

The relationship of the priesthood of all believers to the ministry of the Church and the oneness of the ministry of the Church in the division of the offices of pastor and bishop is stressed by the basic articles of the constitution of the Evangelical Church of North-Western Tanganyika in the following way:

Article I

NAME, DOCTRINE AND OBJECTS

1) This Church of Jesus Christ *is called* the Evangelical Church of North-Western Tanganyika. It is a member of the Holy Catholic Church.

2) Jesus Christ is *the living foundation* of the Church, and on this foundation it is built up through the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments, according to the teaching of the apostles and prophets as explained in the three Catholic Creeds (the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian), the Small Catechism of Martin Luther and in the Augsburg Confession.

This article is unalterable.

3) The Church *aims at* achieving such spiritual maturity, that through the guidance of the Holy Spirit

- a) it preaches the Word of Salvation among those who have not yet learned to know the Savior Jesus Christ,
- b) it grows in full responsibility in its life and work,
- c) it works for the Kingdom of God in having unity with other churches, especially Lutheran Churches,
- d) it feels responsible to help the sick, poor, those in distress, and takes care of the youth.
- Thus the name of Christ is glorified everywhere.

4) To fulfil these aims:

- a) God orders every Christian to witness the salvation which is in Jesus Christ.
- b) To empower this witnessing and to preach to all people His gospel God institutes into His Church the ministry to proclaim His Word and to administer rightly the Sacraments, and to lead His chosen people into the fulness of His grace and to safeguard it against false doctrine.
- c) For the full functioning of the one ministry the Holy Spirit empowers the Church to provide ways for different offices within it, as the office of bishop (the leading pastor of the Church), parish pastor (and pastors with other duties).
- d) God in His grace thus leads His Church in all places and through all times until the return of Her Savior Jesus Christ in glory.

Nepal

Introducing a New Child of the Church:

The Mission in Nepal

THE WORK of the Christian Church in Nepal is only seven years old now in 1960. When this work is seen in its place in the world wide Mission of the Church, it is very much of an infant in the Church family. Nepal as a country is little known in the world family of nations, and the Church's work in Nepal is probably equally little known in the world family of the Church.

I would like to introduce this infant child to the Church family. It is a different kind of child. Some folks may wonder about it. It has some peculiar birth marks that are very prominent. The Church family is not going to be agreed as to whether these are disfigurements or beauty marks, cripplings or some new-found advantages.

This child, with its peculiar birth marks, has been influenced no doubt in birth by its heredity, but probably much more so by the circumstances of Nepal in which it came to birth. But its life has come from God, and it is the presence and working of God's Spirit in it which daily nurtures, enlarges and sustains it, and we hope is bringing it to fruitful fullness of life. In introducing this child I would like to tell of her heredity, of the circumstances of Nepal in which she has come to birth, of the life of God in her, and explain some of the peculiar birthmarks.

The Land of Nepal

Two hundred years ago, the present country of Nepal did not exist. At that time these hundreds of miles of Himalayan mountains were populated by independent tribes of peoples with their own separate chieftains or kings. These peoples had their origins chiefly from the northern side of the mountains among the Mongolian race. Their languages were different and they often had their petty quarrels and wars. The ancient Buddhist religion of India found its way up among them and influenced them very strongly, adding to their original animistic forms of worship.

The amalgamation of these many tribal elements came as an indirect result of the Mohammedan invasion into the plains of

neighbouring India, because some Hindu rulers fled up into these Himalayan mountains and from their descendents there arose leaders with ability who found the power to gradually gather these many separate tribes and peoples under one rule, and thus modern Nepal began to emerge. These influences from the southern plains brought with them Hinduism and spread it as a veneer over the more ancient religions, with the result that the Nepal Government which emerged formed in law and practice a strong Hindu state. It was the Shah dynasty of kings who did this work beginning about 200 years ago.

Then about 100 years ago a line of Prime Ministers began to take absolute power into their hands, and left the king with just his wealth and name. The family name of these Prime Ministers was Rana, and their regime, which ended only in 1950, has become known as "Ranarchy." It was the policy of the country during this regime to remain closed to outside influences, economic or religious, to retain intact the Hindu cultural structure of the country, and to sustain this ruling family in power and position. During this time the condition of the country at large remained much as it had been for the past 500 years and only the capital valley saw some modern development. The country remained closed and little known, and seldom visited by the outside world, and the rulers were satisfied in this condition.

Political elements who wanted a change tried for many years to bring it about internally. Failing this, they finally instigated an armed revolution from surrounding India, and on an appointed day in the winter of 1950 invaded Nepal at several points and fought with the Rana government. The king, who had been on the side lines for so long, lent his influence to this revolution. The result was the overthrow of the Rana regime, and the placing of the king as king indeed again. In these following ten years or so up to the present there have been other rapid and substantial changes. The king has written a constitution based on democratic principles, arranged for a national election, which has brought into existence a representative government with the king under the Constitution. Democratic elements have come to power which are most decidedly changing the course and complexion of the country. The old "closed-ness" has gone. Sweeping improvement is the new goal of the whole country. The climate of the times is wel

expressed in their own film titles: "An Himalayan Awakening" and "A New Era." The new government has undertaken very ambitious plans affecting natural resources, children and adults, health and education, goods and business, social institutions and government.

To help implement these large plans, assistance has been welcomed from outside. The result is that today there are several hundred foreign nationals in Nepal serving in various kinds of aid missions and development schemes. Technicians and advisors, as well as money and tools, are coming from neighboring India and China, from Russia and Switzerland, from agencies of the United Nations, from United States Operational Mission, from Foundations, and other agencies. These foreign government missions and civilian aid projects are busily at work with the Nepal government in such a wide variety of constructive projects that we cannot begin to mention them here.

Besides these government programs, there have sprung up numerous movements among the populace. Political party flags and labels hang out of second story windows, and parades go down the street. Newspapers spread bombastic opinions and discuss the news. Solicitors visit your door for donations to public sponsored libraries, schools and humane services. Ancient religions, which are bound to be deeply affected in this kind of atmosphere, are stirring themselves to hold as much solidarity as possible among their adherents. Even new faiths and societies have their agents and propaganda leaflets. Not only in the large cities, but out among the hills, there are springing up committees for this and committees for that, as citizens catch the new fever and bestir themselves to share in the cause.

So large and so basic are the development plans and the changes taking place that the effect really amounts to the creating of a New Nepal. The earthen vessel of the old culture is breaking up. The lump of clay of the new order is even now spinning swiftly on the potter's wheel. Many hands, energized by many motives and moved by many ideas, have reached out and are working to mold that clay. Those hands will create the New Nepal after their own likeness.

The Christian Mission Outside Nepal

There are today 8 or 9 million people living inside Nepal. At the same time, for several

generations, there have been peoples of the Nepal hills who have migrated to India for various reasons and have become residents of India. They have to a large extent retained their Nepali language and customs. Also, particularly off the east end of Nepal in the adjoining mountains of India, the population is made up of the same Nepali peoples that live across the border in Nepal. These are Nepali speaking and have retained their Nepali culture. The opportunities of the Church to witness and serve among the peoples of India in past generations have meant also opportunity to witness and serve among these Nepalese elements living in India and generally near to Nepal.

The country of Nepal has been grouped in Mission history books among the closed, independent and semi-independent states and provinces of Central Asia. This has been the case up until 1950 when the revolution opened the land to outside influences. The attempts by Protestant missionaries or Christians to enter Nepal during this period of closed-ness were scattered and temporary, and amounted to only a very few attempts by very few individuals. Nothing permanent came of it.

The earliest attempt at Protestant missionary work on behalf of the Nepalese of which we have so far learned was the translation of the New Testament into their language by the Carey team of translators well over 100 years ago. Then about the middle of the last century the Church of Scotland Mission entered the mountain section off the east end of Nepal and began work among the Nepalese there. This Mission completed the translation of the Bible, and prepared and used a catechism and hymnal. In this area a substantial Church has developed among the Nepalese, and considerable education and some medical work is done by this Mission.

Through the early years of this present century there were certain missionary individuals here and there on the border of Nepal who worked among the Nepalese when and where they could contact them, without being able to enter Nepal. By the 30s and 40s, Missions nearby in India had developed growing interest and work toward Nepal. They formed a Nepal Border Fellowship, as prayer, work and attention began to focus and concentrate on this land. The Spirit of God laid a decided concern and burden of prayer and work on the hearts of individuals

in many places in the world for Nepal. The issues of the calling of the Church with regard to Nepal began to become focused and acute, and certain expectation that God was about to make arrangements for the entrance of the Christian witness to this land began to be felt very decidedly in certain circles of the Church. How and when this would take place, nobody knew. Work grew along the border and among the Nepalese in India, and anticipation as well as preparation mounted toward Nepal itself.

Entering Nepal

The revolution of 1950 brought to an end the closed-ness of Nepal. The new democratic government under the King created a desire for and work towards change in the country. I have already described this as a nation-wide effort to create a New Nepal. This suddenly altered situation in Nepal made possible the birth of the Christian Mission in that land. The opportunities for entrance came about in a way that nobody interested in Nepal had ever dreamed of, and here I must tell the story. Dr. Robert Fleming had been a science teacher in a school for missionaries' children for 25 years in the neighboring mountains of India. He had a personal interest in ornithology, and for years had studied and collected the birds of that part of India. As a strike in the blue he sent a letter to the Nepal government asking if he could be permitted to make a field trip into a certain section of the mountains of Nepal to study and collect specimens of the birds there. To his great surprise he received permission to do this. This beginning resulted in two or three such field trips under the auspices of the Chicago Natural History Museum into the hills of Nepal. On these trips in the early 1950s medical missionaries also went along and rendered medical service to the public wherever the field trip led them.

This medical service was greatly appreciated, and led to an invitation from the Ministry of Health of the Nepal Government to Mr. Fleming and his companions to open hospitals in the cities of Kathmandu and Tansen in Nepal. The missionaries took this invitation to their respective Methodist and Presbyterian Boards where the matter was studied further. These Boards expressed the desire that this opening into Nepal might be taken, not only by their Missions, but by

the ecumenical Christian movement as a whole. So far as the Church was concerned, here was a door beginning to open, which doubtless would open more, and lead into a virgin territory for the witness and service of the Church. Leaders saw in this situation a unique opportunity to extend the life of the Church in circumstances which were of such a nature as to press the birth of this new work into distinctive shape.

This hope was speedily realised in 1954 when the United Mission to Nepal was organized and entered Nepal to begin two hospitals at Kathmandu and Tansen. Any Churches or Missions who were members of the National Christian Council of India, and who would subscribe to a principle of union work and to the constitution of the Mission, were invited to join. Whereas its early work was only medical, the Mission has since grown to include work in education and village development. Permission for new projects has been received, and still others are being sought. More Missions and Churches have been steadily joining and sending workers into the land. Today the United Mission is working in six projects in six different places. There are at present 108 Christian workers on the staff representing twelve nationalities. There are 17 cooperating Missions and Churches.

Besides this United Mission there is another mission with medical work in central Nepal, and there are also some individuals who have gone into Nepal on their own to work and witness. It is for the purpose of sharing in the making of a New Nepal that these missions have been permitted, and, we believe, welcomed to enter the land. This is the basis of existence and purpose of the Christian Missions in Nepal today. Figuratively, they, too, have reached out their hands and placed them on the potter's clay to help shape the new vessel.

I want to describe some of the distinctive birthmarks of this infant member of the Church. I have already mentioned that heredity and the Nepal situation influenced the birth, and these features still influence it, and that God brought the child to birth and nurtures it. And so it is.

Creating a New Mission

First of all in Nepal a new missionary organization is being created. And it is a new kind of mission because of the kinds of

cooperating members. The seventeen member groups at present are contributing over one hundred workers. They differ widely in denominational backgrounds and include Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Brethern, Mennonites, Disciples, Anglicans, Free Evangelicals and Interdenominationalists.

These members are nationals from India, Australia, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, England, Ireland, Scotland, America and Canada. The Mission is urging Churches of Asia to see in Nepal a field for missionary work and would welcome their workers.

Further, among these cooperating members are large denominational Church Boards, independent denominational Missions, and interdenominational societies. They have their distinctive ideas and viewpoints on all the varied principles and practices of missionary work. They differ in their ability to grant money and contribute workers. The workers themselves differ in their standards of living, their use of money, their national and cultural backgrounds. Some cooperating bodies have long been in unionistic work, while others have never really faced up to such issues until they joined along here.

The job is to take these varied elements and amalgamate them into one new working Christian organization. In such an effort there needs to be a submerging of the idea of one's membership in the separate home group and a new dedication and loyalty to the new organization. New lines of life and work need to be developed for all to follow. The making of this new organization is by no means finished. It is in the making process. The thoughtful observer will quickly realize some of the implications of such an undertaking and may, as some do, consider it a brave experiment and watch for an unpredictable outcome.

Some have observed in the birth of this Church child a very risky, sometimes disordered, and perhaps impetuous, growth. And no doubt there have been characteristics of this child which would cause some to hold their breath while waiting for the crash. But there are a couple of very important birthmarks in the child that, to my mind, are the saving elements in the situation. The members have entered Nepal in the strong faith that this is the opening and the way of work which God has given to them, and they have undertaken it in that faith and obedience.

Further, they have given themselves honestly and loyally to the principle of union effort. At present these are the uppermost and controlling elements in the hearts of the members. I must emphasize this fact. This is the cement holding the body together. As this adhesive lasts, strengthens, or deteriorates, so will go the child.

Terms of Agreement

Another very distinct birthmark of this child is made by the fact that it works in Nepal under a signed set of General Terms of Agreement which the government fixed. The first agreement lasted five years, and a new one allows the Mission to continue for a period of ten years under the following terms: (1) Members of the Mission shall obey the laws of the land. (2) Institutions of the Mission shall be subject to the general rules framed by the Directorate within whose purview they fall. (3) The Mission shall pay its own way, and not get financial aid from the government. (4) Government permission must be obtained to expand existing activities or open new projects. (5) Members shall not engage in extra-curricular activities which are not permitted under the law. (6) Disposal of Mission Property shall be with permission of the Government. (7) The Government may nationalize any or all institutions at will, and if within the ten years shall pay compensation. (8) Preference shall be given to Nepalese in paid posts. (9) The agreement may be renewed and revised.

As can be readily realized, each of these terms gravely affects the work of the Mission and the life of its workers. Basic principles of traditional missionary work are at once under influence on such points as: use of money, property ownership, position of the foreigner, religious activity, conduct of work, and procedures of expansion. To come to birth and live in this environment is bound to color the mission. It means that the mission must seriously and continually study its basic operating principles and adjust to its situation. It means living in a constant tension of having to seek interpretations of and satisfaction of government laws and rules. It means living in a fluid situation, and in uncertainty regarding the future.

I can take space to amplify the implication of only one of the terms, that affecting religious activity. In 1959 the new Constitution

of Nepal defined the subject of religion under Part III, Fundamental Rights, in the following words, "Every citizen, subject to the current traditions, shall practice and profess his own religion as handed down from ancient time. It is provided that no person shall be entitled to convert another person to his religion." Of course there are many questions as to the meaning and application of this law. So far the Mission has taken the position that members of the Mission shall not perform the act of baptism, in view of this law. At present such baptisms as take place are performed by persons independent of the Mission. The next question is how much we can do of Christian worship, witness, teaching, or preaching. As a matter of fact, we are doing these in various degrees and ways. But there are considerable varieties of opinion within and without the Mission as to what can be done.

In facing our environment here in Nepal the prevailing attitude in the Mission is one of gratitude to God for each day granted us to live and serve here, of casting our lot with and working hard at the job of making a new nation, and of trusting that within and under the tensions of the terms the government will allow the Mission to continue in the land and perform its calling.

Emphasis on Christian Service

I have said that the basis of the Mission's existence in Nepal is to contribute in the work of creating a new land and people, of helping to mold the lump of clay on the potter's wheel. I have also mentioned the limitations on evangelistic work. These two facts have constantly pressed the Mission to a serious and fresh study of the question of the nature of Christian living and serving in society. It raises such questions as: In what ways do you change and improve society? What is a good and improved society? What is the distinctly Christian contribution to be made in the molding of the lump of clay on the potter's wheel? What witness can the life and work of a Christian bear to the Gospel of Christ?

The situation in Nepal has meant that workers joining the United Mission have had to be persons with some professional training by which they can contribute service and uplift to the people: teachers, agriculturalists, nurses, doctors, technicians, etc. There is no one in the Mission on a pastoral or evan-

gelistic basis. Our primary contribution to the land is various forms of Christian service in society. If this is to be truly effective it means that the worker so engaged must have a satisfying and thoroughly Christian philosophy concerning such work, and engage in it with hearty faith, glad obedience, and spontaneous love. "Evangelistic minded" or "social minded" missionaries are both, under this Nepal situation, constantly challenged to make their manner of life worthy of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. When taken seriously this is a never-ending, day by day, serious challenge to the Christian missionary.

Church Building Work

There is a final pronounced birthmark of this child which I must mention. It has to do with the Church in Nepal. It has been the strong vision of the founders of the United Mission and others concerned in this land that only one united Church shall emerge under the creation of God's Holy Spirit, and that this Church shall grow and develop as indigenously as possible. This is taking place.

The commitment to, and encouragement of, a united Church has been a prevailing spirit in all Christian workers in the land. And the little groups of believers, sprinkled here and there, are little by little finding each other, experiencing their belonging together, and developing those ties between themselves which will grow and increase to bind them into one Church body in the land. Besides this it has by now become a generally accepted view that the Western workers shall leave to the national Christians the matters of deciding and handling church building affairs, such as the sacraments, congregational life, the ministry, etc. Western workers certainly join and share in the total life and witness, and may offer advice in these matters, but then leaving them to the others join loyally and faithfully in the course which the emerging Church will take.

Certainly this is not without its problems, but it is equally full of possibilities. And such a situation is constantly pressing all concerned to fresh prayer and looking to the Lord of the Church to bring to birth and be indeed the Head of His Body. This is a saving factor and brings glad hope. It is a common testimony among folks here that they daily experience the presence and working of God's Spirit. It is indeed so. The situation is alive and moving by the working

of God. Back to this fact we always return, and find in it fresh renewal for each day's walk.

I cannot leave this introduction to the Mission in Nepal simply as an introduction. I want to also say that this situation is in need of, and open to, more workers. This field is worthy of the consideration of folks who are able and seeking to move out to new places. We consider this to be particularly true for the Church in India or neighboring lands of Asia. I should like to also say, in writing for this magazine, that it is true for any Lutheran Board or Church that may be able to share in the work in Nepal.

JONATHAN LINDELL

Iceland

Youth Work in the Church of Iceland

Icelandic Youth at Lausanne

"I NEVER REALIZED how immensely fortunate we are back home!" The young girl had a strange expression on her face, a combination of bewilderment and relief. Finally, after two and a half weeks away from Iceland she had discovered at least something that was better "back home" than in the wonderland of the Alps or the other countries visited before we reached Lausanne and the Youth Assembly held there last July. I asked her about her great discovery, and she revealed her findings: "Yes, it had never dawned on me there really were as many denominations as are represented here or as many complications and taboos in inter-church worship and service to God. And just now I am so very grateful and relieved that we have only our Lutheran Church in good old Iceland!"

And she was not the only one of the young people from the land of the Sagas to find herself gasping for breath at the half-way mark of the Lausanne Assembly. The first days had been a constant source of wonder and exclamations on the part of young people who for the first time were experiencing the thrill of seeing other countries, living among people of numerous nationalities; never

before had they been bombarded by such a great variety of strange sounds so completely meaningless to them, but just as reasonable and clear to others as their own Icelandic language was to them. And last, but not least, for the first time they fully realized how differently people do go about worshipping God.

But during the second half of the Assembly the initial surprise had subsided a little and it was now possible to approach things with greater calm and understanding than before. And it was possible to start forming the questions we had in mind for some time now: "What did they learn?—How will it help them in their own relationship to God?—And how will it make them better members of their own church?"

These are questions which have not only risen during and after the Assembly, but prior to it as well. The National Lutheran Church in Iceland was represented for the first time by young people at a big international church gathering. They were thirteen strong who left their native shores to try to learn as much as possible. With them went the hopes of the church leaders and the blessing of the Bishop of Iceland who, just two hours before they embarked, had officiated at a service of Holy Communion specifically intended for the young people in one of the city churches.

It is both interesting and revealing to notice that what impressed them most was Professor Hockendijk's challenge to the young people to be impatient! They felt that possibly they had been too patient and too satisfied with the status quo. They sensed in his words a challenge to which they responded eagerly, a more or less latent force was finding a new source for action and a new means of expression. Christianity and church life did not necessarily have to have about it an air of "I-am-not-concerned-about-the-now-, I-think-in-eternities." There was something to be done, and something for them to do, and they realized that if they did not take up their positions there would be a gap in the ranks where they were supposed to be.

This confrontation with the "present character" of the church prompted some serious searching of the soul. What had I done in the past? Had I been too satisfied with things, lulled to sleep by the lullaby of the "what is the hurry" tune? Had I heeded too closely the admonition: "There is a day after today, so don't make haste!" Young people are often accused of impatience and intolerance,

they are therefore sometimes forced to take a place in the rear ranks and not to volunteer for the advance guard. And here, suddenly, they hear a respectable and respected man of learning who urges them not to be satisfied with some of the theories and practices of the "older" ones.

Island-Land and Church

And let us now, at this point, take a look at the country and church from which these young people came about whom we have been talking. Having myself been on the Continent of Europe for almost four months now, I do realize how very little people as a whole know about the country and the people who live in Iceland. I do not intend, however, to give any detailed description of Iceland, I would only like to mention a few things which will make it easier for the reader to understand our problems.

Iceland was settled in the year 874 by Norse Vikings who were determined to leave their homeland rather than to be subject to a ruling king. They were independent individualists who established a republic in Iceland with only two of the three branches a republic normally has: namely the judiciary and legislative, with the executive branch conspicuously missing. They did not want to have anyone telling them what to do or claiming power over them!

Among these early settlers there were a few Christians, but the great majority believed in the Gods of that age, Odin and Thor, with Valhalla as the ultimate destiny for happy warriors. From year to year foreign as well as native missionaries visited Iceland with their news about the White-Christ and won some converts. Furthermore many tourists from Iceland, as well as merchants, were brought to Christianity through the influence of the Norwegian king. In the year 1000 it seemed as if the Icelanders were engaged in a civil war to decide the question of religion. The two parties had assembled at Althing, their parliament, fully armed and ready for the onslaught. However it was decided to entrust the responsibility of choosing the religious faith of the country to one man, a pagan. He withdrew and contemplated in isolation. When he returned he declared his decision: every Icelander should be a Christian—or leave the country.

This was the manner in which Christianity became the religion of the land, and the first

bishops had great difficulties in their dealings with their independent and undoubtedly stubborn countrymen.

Now a little information concerning the country itself. The name has already given some indication as to what can be expected from this northern island. Some, however, maintain that the name is really a misnomer, and its forbidding coldness is somewhat misleading. It is true that the average temperature in the capital city of Reykjavik is 0° (Centigrade) in December and 0.6 below Zero (Centigrade) in January which is the coldest month. The island is 103,106 km² (39,797 square miles), but a great part of it is uninhabited. The Islanders live on the coast and in the valleys which stretch into the country.

Iceland was from the very beginning and throughout the next few centuries exclusively an agrarian society, consisting of big or small farmers employing a few people on each farm, either to tend directly to farming or to combine it with catching the fish which were plentiful a short distance from the shore. So for almost a thousand years the entire population lived in more or less isolated farming communities, by the shore or inland. The country as a whole was very thinly populated, and even today the average is 1.6 persons per square kilometer.

The first village did not start to develop till after Iceland had been populated for almost eight hundred years. In 1703 there were only 204 villagers in the one and only village, Reykjavik. And it did not grow by any leaps or bounds during the next hundred years, for in 1801 there were only 307 inhabitants in Reykjavik, i.e. an increase of 103 in 98 years.

Due to greater success in fighting infant diseases, the population increased some in the 19th century and considerably more in the first decades of the twentieth. But still in the year 1880 only 5.8% of the entire population lived in villages and towns with over 300 inhabitants. But from then on a shift in population and the growth of villages and towns was noticeable. To quote a few figures which reveal this tendency we see that in 1910 32.2% of the Icelanders live in towns with over 300 inhabitants,

1930	54.5%
1955	77.3%

So from 1880 to 1955 there has been a complete reversal in population residence. And if we look at Reykjavik we see that the little

town which in the beginning of the 19th century had only 307 inhabitants, had 38,196 in 1940, 55,980 at the end of 1950 and 71,037 at the present time, or an increase of over 70,000 in 160 years! And if we look at the vicinity around Reykjavik we find that more than half of Iceland's entire population of 173,855 lives in or around the capital city.

This is of course the greatest population increase in any one town although there are others which show how complete the reversal has been in the residence of the people in Iceland.

The question arises, therefore: What effect does this have on the church? The structure of the church was aimed at serving farming communities. The pastor usually ran a farm himself and was not only the spiritual but often the secular leader of the community as well. He was possibly the only one besides the doctor and the judge who had had any schooling, and being provided with some of the best farms he could employ farm-hands to do most of the manual work on the church-farm. With the coming of towns and cities his role has drastically changed. He now has to cope with situations and problems unheard of a few decades ago. And the church has been rather slow in adapting itself to the new situation. For one thing the city of Reykjavik and the larger towns are not being served by as many pastors as are needed.

The State has the last word in practically all of the financial affairs of the church. The need for additional pastors to look after the spiritual needs of the great influx of people from the country to the towns and city has not so far been adequately met. A pastor in one of the older country parishes may be entrusted with a flock of less than two hundred parishoners whereas in the capital city a pastor may have as many as ten to twelve thousand in his congregation for whom he must care without any or with very little lay-help. It is of course pretty easy to see the difference in working habits and demands between such congregations.

Another thing which also is worth noticing is the fact that the people moving into the towns from the country have not been too successful in adapting themselves to the church in their new locality. They may have been staunch church people in the country but somehow seem not to be able to take their place in the church in the new community. Part of the reason may be that they are so involved in acquiring a home and adjusting

to the other needs that the church is left out when the other necessities are considered. Also, and very important, there is the other side of the coin in this instance, viz. the approach of the church to these people. The congregations counting several thousands give their pastors very little time and opportunity to go and get acquainted with the "new arrivals." Furthermore it is unheard of that calling should be done by anyone besides the pastor himself. These people have, therefore, moved into the new locality, have settled down to a certain degree, but the time it has taken them has somehow left a gap between them and the church, a gap which is often difficult to fill up or bridge.

It is furthermore worth noticing that the church buildings and facilities have been far from adequate to cope with new times and different needs. Most of the church buildings were only intended for Sunday worship. Meeting halls or Sunday school rooms were non-existent. And what is more, new church buildings have far from kept pace with new apartment houses and new suburbs.

The Church and its New Tasks

What then is the Church of Iceland doing in order to meet the present day challenge?

Each new generation confronts the church with the need for increased missionary endeavors. It is not enough merely to try to win converts in far-away countries under strenuous physical conditions if the home front is left unattended. Each new-born child is in a way a new mission field for the church, into which the good seed must be sown. And once the seed has been sown, the field must be kept and looked after, protected and cleansed.

In Iceland as in many other countries the cry of the day is, therefore, for more work among children and young people. Much has been done in the past and chiefly by a "saintly" man now in his nineties, the Reverend Fridrik Fridriksson who has devoted most of his time and talent to the youth in Reykjavik. He has been tireless and his efforts have indeed borne much fruit. The church, however, realized that if there was to be any concentrated effort in this field it had to have a man who would devote all his time to endeavoring to energize and organize such work in the various congregations throughout the country. At the request of the Bishop the minister for church affairs

introduced a bill in the Althing (the parliament) authorizing the Bishop to call such a pastor. After the usual debate and committee work, the bill was passed. And last Easter the first youth secretary of the Icelandic Church was called.

Youth Work

Religious instruction is mostly taken care of by the public schools. Consequently much depends upon the teacher, whether he is a Christian or not, for it is, of course, an hypothetical possibility that he may not be, even though he is supposed to instruct in Christianity. The church has, therefore, realized how important it is to reach the students at the teachers' seminary, and, if possible, to make them active in some capacity in the church before they embark upon a teaching career. For they, along with the parents and the home, will to a certain degree be able to mold the young mind and direct it either towards or away from the church.

Practically every young boy or girl attends catechetical classes or instruction given by the pastor and is confirmed and receives the Sacrament of the Altar for the first time. But confirmation and communion day is too often viewed as a day of partial graduation from the church, or that is how it turns out. The young people may not be hostile or unfriendly towards the church, but it is simply not for them and they have nothing to do with it.

The church is trying to combat this attitude by welcoming the young confirmands into the youth organizations of the congregations and thus activating them in the church as well as giving them an opportunity to develop in their faith. These youth organizations are undoubtedly very similar to those of other countries; the chief emphasis is laid on the responsibility of the members themselves for the success or failure of the groups.

Furthermore, the confirmands are invited to participate in special weekend camps in the spring following confirmation. These camps have been widely attended, even to such a degree that the work has been made difficult on account of the number of participants! The plans call, therefore, for another type of camp for confirmands alongside the older ones which will be increased in order to accommodate more youth. These new camps will accommodate fewer young people. There a few selected youth will come together, possibly for a week at a time, for Bible study

and fellowship and for leadership training in the junior work.

The youth magazine will also be expanded and published more frequently. A school program for the High School youth is also being planned, as well as are leadership training institutes.

But let us now come back to the young people at Lausanne. It is perhaps not too late to correct a slight misunderstanding in the opening statement. It is not correct to say that the Lutheran Church is the only church in Iceland; but it is by far the largest church, whereas the others have merely a handful of members and are not too much felt in the country.

But there is another very important thing which arises when we start thinking about our Lausanne people again. And that is to try to find an answer to the questions put forward in the opening paragraphs of this article. First—What did they learn? In a country where the young people usually turn away from the church right after confirmation it was a marvellous revelation for them to see all these fine young people at the Assembly with one mind, i.e. eager to work for the church of Jesus Christ, not bashful about, or ashamed of, confessing their faith and willing to make sacrifices for the Risen Lord. Consequently, their own courage was rebuilt and strengthened. They renewed their dedication and their pledges to the church.

They were also made much more aware of the fact that it does make a difference: to believe or not to believe; to be ready to work or merely to wait for somebody else to do all there is to be done. They were moved closer to God for they had to think through their own relationship with Him. Their faith is clearer, for they had to sit down and explain to themselves as well as to others what they believe. Their loyalty to their church is firmer, for they could not avoid looking at their church with a keener approach and possibly for the first time clearly seeing what it stands for and why things are done the way they are. There is less danger now than before that God may merely disintegrate in their minds to a vague and abstract term of little significance.

Finally, what are they going to do now in their home congregations and church? Are they going to apply Pastor Lange's admonition to their locality and congregation "which is the place where heaven and earth meet"? Upon arriving in their homes they started

telling the news of Lausanne, and their enthusiasm has not subsided since! They have talked with individuals and they have spoken at meetings and gatherings. Then they met with the other young people who had gained valuable experience by participating in a work camp, and together they outlined a program of action for the year ahead.

They are determined not to let themselves be pushed back merely because they are

young and some think inexperienced, they are not going to be too patient but will point out what needs to be done now and not fifty or a hundred years hence and then will volunteer for work and service. The church in Iceland was happy to see them participate in the Assembly and is happier now to see them come back aglow with the spirit of dedication and of service.

ÓLAFUR SKULÁSON

BOOK REVIEWS

On the Resurrection

RESURRECTION AND HISTORICAL REASON. A STUDY IN THEOLOGICAL METHOD. By Richard R. Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. 184 pp.

Richard R. Niebuhr, the son of H. Richard Niebuhr and the nephew of Reinhold Niebuhr, has published in *Resurrection and Historical Reason, A Study in Theological Method* (also available in a German translation by Joseph Schollmeier, *Auferstehung und geschichtliches Denken*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1960) a revision of his doctoral dissertation submitted at Yale University. Niebuhr's thesis is that a proper theological understanding of the resurrection is a prerequisite for a correct approach to the problem of theological method. The argument by which this thesis is supported is as follows:

Recent Protestant theology has been characterized by conflict between the witness to the resurrection and the canons of historical thought. This conflict, which Niebuhr traces to an uncritical concept of historical causality, has led many theologians to seek to interpret the life of Christ without emphasizing the resurrection. Since, however, the Jesus of history cannot be abstracted from the Christ of faith in such a way as to make possible placing the resurrection at the periphery of the gospel tradition, two methodological alternatives present themselves if the centrality of the resurrection is to be taken seriously. There may be an attempt to develop an independent theology, and there may be a reexamination of historical causality.

Niebuhr surveys three attempts to develop an independent theology: Karl Barth's affirmation of the authority of the Bible and theological positivism, Rudolf Bultmann's radical criticism and existential philosophy, and John Knox's more conservative criticism and process philosophy. Niebuhr is critical of the "realism" in Barth's concept of revelation, by which the knower becomes wholly passive and the consciousness of the church a mere transparency. To the extent that the problems of accommodating the history of Jesus Christ to our historical experience are avoided, Niebuhr insists that Barth turns his back on the need for an independent theolog-

ical method and weakens the reality of the very biblical history he sets out to exalt. The critique of Bultmann centers upon the ambiguity in his definition of myth. On the one hand myth is the confusion of objective and subjective truth. On the other hand it appears to be that which contradicts the canons of modern natural science. Since Bultmann does not criticize modern ideas of nature and history, demythologizing the resurrection faith means complete denial of the objectivity of the resurrection event, and consequent difficulty in accounting for that faith. Niebuhr is most sympathetic with the position which John Knox represents, particularly his recognition that in history the subjective and the objective participate. Yet, in Knox's definition of the church as the community that remembers Jesus Christ, there is a tendency for the history of Jesus Christ to shrink into the story of the church's emerging self-consciousness. For this reason Knox is unable fully to establish the independent reality of the historical Christ. Niebuhr concludes, "In their different ways, these three representative thinkers of Protestantism, Barth, Bultmann and Knox, show the impossibility of reaching an independent theological method without broaching the issue of historical causality itself and also, therefore, the fundamental question about the conditions of our knowledge of historical events." (70)

Niebuhr traces the eclipse of the historical in modern theology to Immanuel Kant, who taught us to interpret the experiential, phenomenal world with the theoretical reason, and the unities which lie behind experience with the practical reason. Since Kant made no special provision for history, the canons of natural science were also made to do duty as the principles of historiography, with the result that history was naturalized. The theological remedy for this situation was to develop in the notion of *Heilsgeschichte* what Niebuhr calls "a nonhistorical history." The advantage to be gained through the use of the idea of sacred history is that "practical reason under the guise of a special faculty for the apprehension of sacred history is wholly free of the hampering categories of substance and causality and of the forms of absolute (*sic*) space and time." (85) Its crippling disadvantage is that it can have no content, belonging as it does to the domain

of practical reason. Since practical reason is capable of dealing only with teleological, but not with contingent causalities or relations, it cannot interpret the contingent content of history as we know it. Niebuhr concludes that theoretical and practical reason are not adequate to provide for the interpretation of history. We must therefore ask, How do we know historical events?

Niebuhr replies that historical events are known only as remembered. For this reason the purposes of those who remembered these events in the past, as well as our purposes in the present must be known. It follows that the object in historical knowledge cannot be called into question without involving the subject-pole in the relationship in the same criticism. Confusion between the subject and the object is prevented by the criticism which attends social mediation of memory. The historical criticism of the Bible represents such criticism, where the tension between the church and the event which has called the church into being is discovered.

While there has been a tendency to naturalize history, Niebuhr suggests that nature can in turn be historicized, for nature as known is historically conditioned. The predominant role which death and dying rather than birth and life play in the modern interpretation of nature is evidence of this fact. We have reason to ask why death should be the decisive category in terms of which our historical-natural existence is interpreted. "The task that faces biblical theology is to show... that the resurrection of Christ reveals more about our concrete historical-natural situation than does the experience of dying and the fear of death." (128) In interpreting the resurrection the power of the past must be recognized, a power which is its own, and which it does not draw simply from our interpretation of it. When the relevance of this power to the present is recognized, there is a tendency to interpret it in terms of known patterns of causality. Harmonizing the past with the present in this way may, however, mean that the truth that the past contains elements novel from the standpoint of the present is ignored. Criticism of the past, on the other hand, does not destroy it, but reshapes it in the mind of the contemporary generation.

The conflict involved in the interpretation of the history of the Christian community is between interpreting it in terms of law or resurrection. While nature is understood in terms of law, Niebuhr points to a dimension

of nature that transcends law. This is its contingency, the factor of individuality, which might be called its existence as over against its essence. Niebuhr calls the mystery of the givenness of events the mystery of creation. He points out that the fact that the concept of probability is necessary in the interpretation of nature indicates that novelty analogous to creation appears. To interpret this dimension of our experience a new principle is necessary. Here Niebuhr suggests that resurrection provides "a coordinating analogy," using a concept developed by Dorothy M. Emmet in *The Nature of Metaphysical Thinking*.

In interpreting the resurrection of Jesus Christ, Niebuhr states that the significant element in the references to the body in the resurrection appearances is the element of recognition. In this connection, the subjective element is frankly acknowledged. The witnesses had to be recognizers. There is, however, both familiarity and novelty. The event of the resurrection happens, furthermore, in social time, which makes for objectivity. There is objectivity also because the recognizer cannot bring together the past and the present unaided. Niebuhr concludes, "The resurrection of Jesus Christ is neither simply the appearance of Jesus, nor is it the resurrection of an anonymous man, nor is it the rise of faith in his disciples. It is a single and indivisible event, which does not thrust forward one facet or aspect for our consideration to the neglect of the others. It offers no possibility of generalizing and projecting universal laws; it offers only itself as an analogy of what is to come, and we have no rules by which to determine what is to be negated and what affirmed in this analogy." (176-177) The resurrection should not, however, be treated as a miracle, for this defines it by its negative relation to nature. Resurrection does not violate nature, but only death.

Thus far Niebuhr's argument, which throughout is closely reasoned and effectively stated. There is considerable discussion of the theological development of the past century, in which continuity rather than discontinuity is stressed, making the book of interest as an essay in contemporary theology. Niebuhr's systematic concern, however, is primary, and it is from this vantage point that the book must be evaluated. The attempt Niebuhr has made to come to terms with the problem of theological method is only to be

commended, as is his recognition that this involves an analysis of "historical reason." One misses, however, in this connection any reference to Heinrich Rickert, whose *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* represents one of the most significant studies of historical reason during the past century. Niebuhr's distinction between nature and history in terms of law and individuality is interestingly similar to the distinction Rickert makes. Niebuhr emphasizes, however, the transcendence of the individual event, its uniqueness and contingency, to the point that history can reveal something about nature, affirming the victory of life over death.

One must inquire, however, whether the distinction to be made between nature and history first arises when the resurrection is considered. There is another problem that Niebuhr does not discuss, the problem of human freedom. If the eclipse of the historical in theology is to be traced to Kant's distinction between the theoretical and the practical reason, it was the problem of freedom that led to this distinction. "The realm of the concept of nature under the one legislation, and that of the concept of freedom under the other, are completely cut off from all reciprocal influence, that they might severally (each according to its own principles) exert upon the other, by the broad gulf that divides the supersensible from phenomena. The concept of freedom determines nothing in respect of the theoretical cognition of nature; and the concept of nature likewise nothing in respect of the practical laws of freedom. To that extent, then, it is not possible to throw a bridge from the one realm to the other." *Kant's Critique of Aesthetic Judgement*, trans. J. C. Meredith (Oxford, 1911), 36-37. When the problem of historical causality is examined, not only the remembrance of past events, but also the process of human behavior itself must be taken into account. The fact that Kant found it impossible to describe the phenomenal sequence of events making up this behavior so that freedom was a factor in this description, certainly involved the naturalization of history. Here quite clearly a concept of historical causality was implied. One notes in this connection that Rickert also was unable to understand historical causality in such a way that human freedom escaping the determinism of the natural order could be made intelligible.

If, however, human freedom is a reality, if the Kantian principle, that every event must have some cause in what immediately precedes it, on the level of human behavior can mean that fundamental alternatives bid for human allegiance, if human decision is not materialistically determined, not even ultimately rationally determined, but is a faith decision, this can lead to a different understanding of *Heilsgeschichte*. It need not be the "non-historical history" which Niebuhr terms it, even if this criticism is apropos to Barth's and Bultmann's use of the concept. The origins of *Heilsgeschichte* in recent theology, which may be traced through Johan Tobias Beck and J. Chr. K. von Hoffmann to J. A. Bengel and the Württemberg pietism and to the federal theology of John Cocceus, would seem to indicate that this is primarily a hermeneutical method, designed to set forth the unity of the biblical revelation, whatever apologetic use the concept may also have had. When the faith that Christian *Heilsgeschichte* represents is to be compared with other history, the problem may not be that of contrasting sacred and profane history. If the purposes of those who remember is fundamental to all history, then there is no one history shared by all, but there are several different histories, each having its subjective component, of which the Christian *Heilsgeschichte* is one. In characterizing these other histories, we may be able to view them as different forms of *Heilsgeschichte*, other remembered patterns of meaning in the sequence of human events having relevance for man's salvation. Accordingly the power of any such pattern in the present would have to be described in terms of faith.

In the Christian history of salvation the resurrection of Jesus Christ is fundamental. Niebuhr has reminded us of this fact in a convincing manner. His analysis of the significance of the resurrection witness for our understanding of man's natural-historical existence is illuminating and stimulating. If Niebuhr had been able to grant the concept of *Heilsgeschichte* a more positive significance, he might have viewed the resurrection in the broader context which the Christian history of salvation affords. Jesus Christ rose "according to the Scriptures." In this connection, the Scandinavian method of motif research, to which Niebuhr in his otherwise rather complete survey of contemporary theological alternatives does not refer, might

have provided a means by which this broader context could have been examined.

Niebuhr's book is a most significant contribution to a discussion most sorely needed at this time. It is hoped that he and others will continue the conversation that this book has so stimulatingly begun.

BERNHARD ERLING

Aids to Devotion

FRÖMMIGKEIT IN EINER WELTLICHEN WELT. Edited by Hans Jürgen Schultz. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag and Olten/Freiburg i.Br.: Walter-Verlag, 1959. 301 pp.

HIMMEL OHNE GOTT? *Three Addresses.* By Günter Jacob. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1959. 78 pp..

DIE SIEBEN TAGE GOTTES. *Betrachtungen über die Grundfragen menschlicher Existenz.* By Wolfgang Böhme. Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1959. 191 pp.

UNSER GOTTESDIENST. *Ein Hilfstück zum lutherischen Hauptgottesdienst für die Hand der Gemeinde.* By Otto Dietz. Munich: Claudius-Verlag, 1959. 188 pp.

LEKTORENAGENDE. ORDNUNG DES HAUPTGOTTESDIENSTES FÜR LEKTOREN. Hannover: Lutherhaus-Verlag. 20 pp.

EXPERIMENTE MIT GOTT. *Für Sie am Wochenende.* By Adolf Sommerauer. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1959. 243 pp.

"There is no doubt that the word 'devotion' has a strange sound in the modern world. Modern man stands somewhat helpless before it. He retains a certain respect for it. There is actually nothing which one can say against it. But how should one act towards it? How can one be 'devout'?" This is how one of the thirty-six addresses broadcast in 1959 by the *Süddeutscher Rundfunk* began. These addresses have now been published in an anthology edited by the initiator and director of the broadcasts, Pastor HANS JÜRGEN SCHULTZ. It bears the title, *Devotion in a Secular World*.

The broadcasts evoked a great deal of response. There is no doubt that they touched upon an open wound. "The traditional forms of devotion cannot hold their own against the

challenges put to them by technics, physics, psychology, art, politics, and even theology, challenges which we have hardly yet begun to take at their full value. Our devotion has not succeeded in accommodating itself to the cosmic age." (Schultz, p. 5)

This concern motivates all of the thirty-six essays, which differ greatly from one another and occasionally even contradict one another. It is carefully stated at the beginning (p. 4): "naturally every author assumes responsibility only for his own address." Under various aspects Protestant and Catholic Christians (by no means all theologians) raise the question concerning possible forms of devotion in our world. "The task of the essays in this book is first of all to describe the presuppositions and conditions under which devotion can be realised in a secular world" (p. 8).

What is devotion? There is of course no definition common to all of the authors of this volume. It is not quite the same thing to define devotion as "knowledge of God's acts and cooperation in his creation" (Alfons Auer, p. 23), or as "man's relationship to and his attitude towards God" (Dietrich van Oppen, p. 29), or as "the existential expression of faith" (Cornelis Johannes Dippel, p. 52). A number of other definitions could easily be added. With this in mind, it can clearly be seen that all the authors agree with one another at one decisive point; all are disturbed by the fact that devotion so frequently and so decisively has taken the form of a rejection of the world and a mystic flight to God, therefore they all attempt to posit the worldliness of devotion. "Instead of dispensation from the world, it must be active participation in the world. It must find expression not in care of one's own inner life but in responsibility for others." "Devotion is not real without the world. It is a way in which God works." (Schultz, p. 7)

What form should such devotion take? To ask such a question is to misunderstand the problem completely. Van Oppen rightly says that "it will take a long time and a great deal of effort before the old pre-conceptions are replaced by new valid notions" (p. 29).

Nevertheless, the second part of the book attempts to give some answers under the themes *Experiments in Devotion* and *Ways of Christian Life*. The East Harlem experiment, the international work order of the Belgian priest, Father Werenfried van Straaten, the Brotherhood of Taizé, the *Aktion Sühne-*

zeichen and others are described here. All of these are experimental yet exemplary attempts "to obey God while remaining in the world" (p. 219).

Finally, a number of situations are described in which devotion must be expressed in a very worldly manner (unfortunately this does not pertain to the average man!). For example, it is shown how the politician in his situation must inevitably be burdened with the question of his relationship to power. The fact that he is a Christian does not make it any easier for him. Here devotion will prove itself by decisions appropriate to the situation.

The scientist, the artist, the journalist, the architect, the doctor, the businessman, the theologian—each must express faith and devotion in his particular situation.

This is an unusually stimulating and controversial book, which must be read critically in terms of one's own needs and attempts "to be devout." It is noticeable that insufficient attention is paid in this volume to the hermeneutic problem. It crops up here and there, but only the essay *Using the Bible* by Heinz Zahrnt is devoted to it.

New forms of devotion are not only to be derived from new contacts with the world but also, first and foremost, from a renewed encounter with the Bible. All too often a self-contained devotion arises out of the fear that the Scriptures cannot hold their own against the realities of this world.

This applies to a large extent to the opening chapters of the Bible, to the account of the Creation. It goes without saying that especially those Christians living under Marxist rule must be concerned with a proper, non-rigid understanding of the Creation account. In the book by GÜNTER JACOB, General Superintendent of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg in Cottbus, are published the three addresses on this problem which he "recently delivered to big city congregations in the Eastern Zone of our Fatherland" (Germany) (p. 11). It is good that insights which were first expressed in the Thirties¹ should now be made available to a wider public. It is amazing how helpless our intellectual and educated contemporaries often are in these questions.

Jacob's concerns can be summarized as follows:

1. The conflict between natural science and faith in the biblical account of the Creation, i.e. the either-or position is based, on the one hand, on the inadmissible dogmatization of a primitive world-view and, on the other, on the ideologization of natural science.
2. "Today in the Church ancient errors have been overcome. However, similarly, modern natural science refrains from positing ideological principles" (p. 23). "We no longer regard the Bible as a natural science textbook" (p. 22).
3. "We must proclaim the truth revealed to us in the Bible in the light of the very different world-view prevalent today."

The Creation account is concerned with "answering the question of man's personhood," not with his physical origin but with his derivation from God.

Regardless how clear and self-evident these theses are, there is a hidden danger that they may reduce the very colorful and descriptive accounts in Genesis 1 and 2 into a merely formalistic view of the Creation. One cannot "simply modernize these accounts" (to quote the Heidelberg Old Testament scholar Gerhard von Rad) "by substituting a modern natural science for the ancient outmoded world-view. This is due to the fact that here in a very singular manner theology and natural science are interwoven without any tension between them."² It is obvious that Jacob could not give a careful theological interpretation of the Creation accounts within the limits of two or three addresses.

The study by WOLFGANG BÖHME is relevant here. Böhme was a pastor to students in Frankfurt for a long time. He started his career as a lawyer. For about a year now he has been director of studies at the Evangelical Academy at Bad Boll. His book is not intended as "an exegesis or a commentary in the usual sense." "Instead, we are concerned here with a comprehensive view incorporating the insights of modern natural science, anthropology and psychology." (p. 7f.)

In contrast to Jacob, who strictly differentiates biblical statements from natural science, in order to show that here various dimensions of thought are involved, Böhme aims at a synthesis. He repeatedly makes statements

¹ Cf. Emil Brunner's lecture "Der Schöpfungsglaube und das wissenschaftliche Weltbild," delivered in Helzingfors in 1936 and published in "Das Wort Gottes und der moderne Mensch," Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1937.

² von Rad, *Schöpfungsglaube und Evolutionstheorie* (anthology), Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1956, p. 36 f.

such as this, that it is astounding "to what extent modern research substantiates the statements of the Creation accounts" (p. 23 and 40f.)

Disagreeing expressly with Prenter, Emil Brunnel and Schomerus, he warns against too thorough-going an existentialist interpretation of the Creation accounts. Regardless "how intangible those events which occurred at the beginning of time and upon which the Creation accounts are based appear to us, we must retain a sense of their historical nature as such." Where the historical components are not given their due there is danger that the statements will lose their substance. With this approach he maintains a remarkable balance between the various elements in the Creation account (with the aid of numerous references). It is never quite clear what actual historical value he attributes to them.

Böhme frequently quotes the Church Fathers and the Reformers. This enriches his book. But he pays remarkably little attention to the break occasioned by the natural science approach and which finds expression in Jacob's addresses. Böhme asks, for example, how long man was in Paradise, and he answers by quoting Luther's conclusion in his lectures on Genesis, "Only a few hours." Böhme then continues, "Regardless how clearly the Bible posits the reality of Paradise, and this we must stress in order to avoid a merely spiritualising symbolism (Thielicke), we have little ground to assume that there was a long Golden Age at the beginning of human history. The first people immediately lost what had just been given them" (p. 131f).

What does this theory mean to us? Can we get back to the original meaning of the Creation accounts? Can we base our devotion on a comprehensive view such as Böhme's?

We cannot here deal fully with Böhme's views. His book contains a wealth of stimulating insights. Many questions could be raised about his basic principles.

The worship service should also be an aid to devotion. Man cannot be devout without the creative word of God. It is a general complaint that our worship services lack the power to attract and to inspire. Even the new liturgy which was accepted by the general synod of the VELKD (the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany) on October 13, 1954 and which is gradually being introduced in the Lutheran congregations of Germany has not done

much to change this situation. The introduction of a new liturgy provides many opportunities to deepen the congregation's understanding of the worship service. It is true that an order of worship must be practised in order to mean something, and yet this in itself is not sufficient. The congregation must be helped to understand it. The person who understands it as merely an ecclesiastical activity cannot warm up to it.

The book by OTTO DIETZ, Dean at Bamberg (Bavaria), which "explains to church members the liturgy for the main service of worship, the purpose behind its order and the meaning of every liturgical portion" (p. 9), is an attempt to help at this point. Dietz, who cooperated in preparing the new *Agenda*, proceeds here with care and with a thorough knowledge of his subject. Even little things (silent prayer upon entering the church, the organ music, and the bells) are thought through and appreciated. There is one disturbing thing about this book: the unprejudiced reader gains the impression that the only proper order for a service of worship is that prescribed in *Agenda 1*. It is all so tremendously full of meaning that it seems as though it must have originated in heaven. However, we all know how difficult it is both to conduct worship services and to attend them. Why is there so little indication in this book of the difficulty involved?—So as not to dampen enthusiasm for the service?

Therefore, this book will have difficulty reaching those who stand outside the church and raise questions concerning the church's worship. This is too bad, because it has so much to offer.

At the same time, cursory reference must be made to the *Lektorenagende* (pericope) which has been issued by the church of Hannover.³ Might not many a church member better understand the service of worship if he had to conduct it himself? If the congregations in Germany are to be subdivided, although already today there is an insufficient supply of pastors in most of the territorial churches, then many a church member will find that he has to exercise the office of lay reader. This task should also be entrusted to those who do not belong to the core group in the congregation but who are serious seekers; it would help them and

³ A complete *Lektorenagende* for all the Lutheran churches in Germany is under preparation.

us as well to devotion. The introductory remarks to the *Lektorenagenda*, which very closely follow *Agenda 1* conclude with the statement that "the goal... to lead the congregation to more active participation in the service of worship, should continually be borne in mind."

And, finally, under the motto *Aids to Devotion* a very unique devotional book must be mentioned, which is written expressly "for people both inside and outside the church who are engaged in a difficult struggle of faith." It provides interpretations of biblical texts for every weekend throughout the year. The selection of texts follows the church year, although this is not too obvious from the table of contents. Each month includes a chapter on the *Practice of Faith*—for the sick, for those in love, for friends, for Christmas, etc.

SOMMERAUER has a good personal manner, without becoming over-solicitous. "Accept the fact that I speak personally to you. God is no principle, no higher law which can be objectively dealt with. He is a living person. Therefore we must deal with one another as living persons." This paves the way for a new form of devotion.

MARTIN KRUSE

Religion and Education in the United States

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MORAL EDUCATION. By Neil G. McCluskey, S.J. New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. 315 pages. \$6.00

CREEDS IN COMPETITION; A CREATIVE FORCE IN AMERICAN CULTURE By Leo Pfeffer. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 176 pages. \$3.00

If what we do depends upon what we believe, how can the American public schools give children a moral education when there is no agreement on its religious foundations? This is the unresolved dilemma examined by Father McCluskey, a distinguished Jesuit educator. Americans have always charged the public schools with a responsibility for character training, but they have never been able to agree on what this should cover.

In the early 19th century, Horace Mann took the position that the public schools were obliged to provide their students with a common liberal view of life. Equally opposed to "atheism" and "secularism," Mann advocated the teaching of a non-sectarian deism based loosely upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. William Harris then repudiated this position in the next half-century as unacceptable to believer and non-believer alike. On the basis of the freedom of individual conscience and the separation of church and state, Harris effected the complete secularization of many public schools, forbidding even the reading of the Bible. Sectarian religion was to be taught at home and in the church. The schools should engage only in such moral training as could be determined by man's natural reason.

Finally in the first half of this century, John Dewey's pragmatic approach filled the religious vacuum left by Harris by elevating No-religion into a religion itself. Positing "growth in shared living" and "education for democracy" as ends in themselves, Dewey's system resulted in religious naturalism and ethical relativism: the American "Way of Life."

Father McCluskey concludes that this vexing problem is basically insoluble in a religiously pluralistic society. No sectarian religion may be taught; no non-sectarian religion should be taught. Yet unless some kind of working compromise is effected quickly, American students will have to choose between antireligious public schools and undemocratic parochial schools.

The special problem of moral education in the public schools is placed against a broad cultural background by Leo Pfeffer, national director of the American Jewish Congress' Commission on Law and Social Action. Pfeffer is concerned with showing how the American pattern of free religious association affects such crucial public issues as religious liberty, separation of church and state, public funds for parochial schools, laws governing obscenity, censorship, sabbath observance, birth control and divorce, as well as such controversial issues as Communism, Zionism, Vatican representation, and nuclear disarmament proposals.

He examines "the efforts of the major religious forces to shape American culture through governmental action either in the enactment of laws or in the operation of governmental institutions." He analyzes and

compares the arguments of the three major religious families—Catholic, Protestant, and Jew—along with the defenders of secular humanism, and traces their attempts (consciously or unconsciously) to shape American culture after their own image. But since America is a pluralistic society in which no single group is strong enough to control the whole public single-handedly, there has developed a series of uneasy alliances between two or more of these influential groups whenever they have had specific objectives in common. Religion, like politics, often makes strange bed-fellows.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, America's political culture was fashioned by an alliance of Protestant sectarian dissenters and the forces of secular humanism (religious liberty, civil rights, church-state relations). Its moral culture, on the other hand, was shaped by an alliance of the Protestant dissenters and Calvinistic Puritanism (public schools, campaigns against indecent literature, theater, sabbath violations).

In the 20th century, Roman Catholicism entered the public scene as a new and increasingly powerful competitor to challenge this dual monopoly. In matters of public morality, Roman Catholics joined the alliance of the Protestant legalists (except in special areas like public gambling—"bingo"—where the Roman church gladly shares in the proceeds in order to help support its parallel parochial school system). In political matters, however, Catholics have radically challenged the Protestant-humanist alliance in terms of a quasi-theocratic stance (church-state tie-up, public funds for parochial schools, ambassador to Vatican, public laws concerning birth control, marriage, divorce, and adoption, all in keeping with the official dogma).

Even more recently, the Jews have entered the public market of religious ideas and enjoy a very strategic role. Though relatively small in numbers (and divided in Reformed, Conservative, and Orthodox factions), Judaism can often swing a public policy in either direction it wishes by timely, adaptable alliances. Generally speaking, however, Roman Catholicism now finds itself pitted against Protestantism, Judaism and secular humanism in the overwhelming majority of disputed public issues.

Like Father McCluskey, Dr. Pfeffer believes that the immediate future must necessarily be one of armed truce. He asks only that certain ground-rules be respected by all in

this public competition of creeds. He believes that all deserve a fair hearing so as to contribute their best to whatever ethos emerges in the resultant religious and ethical give-and-take. Carefully to be avoided are 1) the use of force; 2) the suppression of any sect or of its activities; 3) the involvement of the government; 4) the use of ecclesiastical sanctions to affect government activity; 5) verbal blows (beyond protected free speech); 6) chauvinism; and 7) economic boycotts. Pfeffer submits that American religious bodies will experience many problems in the immediate years ahead as they seek in common that rare balance of theological integrity and cultural accommodation in a pluralistic society.

WILLIAM H. LAZARETH.

Youth and Religion

LEBENDIGE CHRISTLICHE ERZIEHUNG. By Frédéric Delforge. Constance: Friedrich Bahn Verlag, 1959. 184 pp.

ERZIEHUNG UND GLAUBE. By Theoderich Kampmann. Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1960. 147 pp.

DAS KIND UND DER GLAUBE. By Martinus J. Langeveld. Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1959. 144 pp.

RELIGIÖSES LEBEN UNSERER JUGEND. By Lore Schmid. Zollikon/Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag AG, 1960. 144 pp.

DIE RELIGION DES KINDES. By Theophil Thun. Stuttgart: Klett-Verlag, 1959. 276 pp.

RELIGION OHNE ENTSCHEIDUNG. By Hans-Otto Wölber. Göttingen: Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2nd Edition, 1960. 282 pp.

The title *Youth and Religion* for the books listed above does not quite cover all that the author of this review had in mind. For the title is meant to point in two directions. The tendency to investigate more thoroughly the attitudes towards religion and the questions of modern youth as the background for all specifically Protestant efforts is evidenced by the religious education literature of the past two years to a greater degree than has been customary. It is not our purpose to

investigate here the reason for the former neglect and the present interest in this area; they lie in the realm of theological presupposition. In this connection it is furthermore worthy of notice that the majority of writers in this field use the methods of statistical research and evaluation. Within certain unavoidable limits such studies can aid in correcting certain preconceived notions and traditional views, in other words, they can help us to better understand modern youth.

The books by Langeveld, Schmid, Thun and Wölber are especially representative of this field. With respect to the methods used, the types of questions raised, and the groups dealt with, these works differ greatly from one another and thus critically supplement one another.

LANGVELD investigates questions which are fundamental to the study of religious pedagogy. He is concerned with "a whole series of pedagogical, psychological and anthropological presuppositions which are held in common by all those who live in a world where the religious life is still significant" (p. 7). The raising of phenomenological questions is the major characteristic and also the limitation of this book. Even with his phenomenological method Langeveld cannot avoid the ambiguity inherent in the concepts "religion" and "religious," understood as non-rational answers to questions of meaning and being. This makes it more difficult to understand his statements but does not detract from their value. At any rate, the theme of this book itself clearly implies that a fundamental question must be raised concerning the phenomenological method, even though we cannot answer it here: Langeveld does not attempt to write a "Christian book," since he investigates general religious phenomena in children, but he does write as a "Christian"—to what extent does the Christian perspective of the author necessarily already color, consciously or unconsciously, the religious data which should be presented in an objective manner?

Langeveld performs an important service for Christian teachers and educators in that he illustrates the various situations, possibilities and conditions which affect a child's understanding of the statements of the Christian faith. Langeveld's formal definition of religion is intended to lead the reader, regardless of his religious affiliations, to draw more specific conclusions about faith.

This is fruitful in many instances. That a child's world view must remain open to further development and new discoveries; that a childish faith can only be overcome and a critical and reflective attitude can only be fostered when a child is encouraged to seek and to raise questions on his own; that the important thing is not the introduction into a system but the initiation into the practice of truth—these and many other theses which Langeveld derives from his manner of approach should receive continual consideration in Christian education and religious instruction. In order really to be fruitful they must be re-articulated in the terms of their content in much the same manner as a translation.

In spite of Langeveld's rejection of the empirical method, THUN's book in contrast shows that "studies of discussions in class with Catholic and Protestant children in elementary schools" (sub-title of his book) can be fruitful. Naturally all statements based upon interviews with children are problematical. But Thun is aware of the limitations of such statements and therefore interprets them cautiously. The conclusions which Thun derives from his material correspond to a great degree with Langeveld's theses. In the last analysis they are not surprising but they do have the advantage of being empirically grounded. This makes Thun's statements more realistic and his conclusions concerning education seem much more sensible to the teacher.

LORE SCHMID's book deals more with youth than with children. Thus her book is more closely related to that of H.-O. WÖLBER. But the two books differ greatly from one another. Wölber's work is characterized by exactness. He first interprets the answers solicited and then he deals with the theological problems arising out of his material. The results of Lore Schmid's study are, in contrast, to a great extent intangible because on the one hand no exact methods of statistical evaluation were followed and on the other hand "additional essential material was used" (p. 23) in interpreting the questionnaires. This method of working is inadmissible and impairs the reliability of the results, especially when, for example, not one of one hundred and ninety two essays by confirmands is quoted in full. Therefore one must say that Wölber's book and Heinz Hunger's study *Evangelische Jugend und Evangelische Kirche* (Gütersloh, 1960) give a more reliable

and more valuable orientation on the 15-25 age group.

Hans Bolewski has already referred to H.-O. Wölber's book in this journal.¹ It has now appeared in a second edition, supplemented by new concluding remarks. Wölber's statements about the religiosity of the younger generation and its relationship to the church and worship, about forms of piety and Biblical interpretation deserve careful consideration. The questionnaire is so cleverly devised that the manner in which the questions are presented exercises the least possible influence upon the answers. Wölber's results raise many questions for religious education and youth work.

Wölber's work extends far beyond the theme of youth and religion as we understand it here and thus differs from the works of Langeveld, Thun and Schmid. His description of the situation of modern youth provides a spring-board for investigating the problem of the folk-church and its reality. The concluding remarks in the new edition show how serious this problem is for Wölber: it insistently points to the question, what is the church? Wölber's noteworthy conclusions, which we cannot discuss in detail here, raise one question however: whether it is sufficient to base his comments and questions concerning the concept of the church on his studies of modern youth.

The book by DELFORGE deals with an entirely different realm. Precisely those who are acquainted with modern scholarship in the field of religious pedagogy long for an educational manual for parents which trans-

lates the results of modern scholarship into practicable forms. This book is not completely satisfactory in this respect. Contrary to the hopes aroused by the title, more than two-thirds of the book is devoted to religious education. Alongside of good practical suggestions statements are again and again made here which seem far removed from modern theological as well as pedagogical scholarship (cf. pp. 111 ff. and 123 ff.). After having read the books by Thun and Wölber, one becomes more and more sceptical of many of the traditional forms of religious education.

TH. KAMPMANN presents a new Catholic book on the *Aufbau einer christlichen Pädagogik* (sub-title). In contrast to the other books reviewed here, which start from reality and seek to interpret it, this one constitutes a tightly constructed systematic presentation. The book is characterised by the wideness of its scope, its remarkable independence and the force of its reasoning. Kampmann investigates general presuppositions in the field of education before developing his own concept of Christian pedagogy in relationship to pedagogy, theology and philosophy. The concept of theocentric leadership (*theozentrische Überführung*) has particular significance for Kampmann. This concept corresponds to that which in Protestant pedagogy is meant by the question of the relationship between education and proclamation, instruction and proclamation. It is worthwhile to follow this concept closely especially as Kampmann relates it to various Protestant theological and pedagogical viewpoints.

GERT OTTO.

¹ Lutheran World, Vol. VII, No. 2, page 227 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE

Protestant Social Work

Dear Sir :

A short time ago you published in your journal an article by Dr. Matthes on *Ideological Features of Modern Protestant Social Work in Germany* (June 1960, Vol. VII, No. 1, page 23.) The author must be given credit for having tackled his task with an unusual display of theoretical speculation.

Unfortunately, after a thorough study of his statements one cannot say that he has done justice to social work. Rather, it is apparent that the author has limited himself to merely one branch of social work, namely to that of conferences, and even more particularly to those conferences only which deal with industry. Thus one fails to find a study which differentiates between the various forms of social work as they exist today. This means that the empirical basis upon which the author builds and from which he draws such sweeping conclusions, is much too small; he himself says that his statements are not so much based on "empirical material" but above all on documentation and "subjective" observation. However, this is not enough to guarantee his interpretation that degree of accuracy which one has a right to expect.

Up to now I could only presume that his critique refers essentially to social work as it is practiced in Bad Boll. The author only cites six major works out of the extensive Protestant literature dealing not only with industrial questions and social work in industry but also with a wealth of other social questions under discussion today. He deals critically with two authors (E. Müller and Fr. Karrenberg) and agrees with one (H. O. Wölber), whom he quotes. Occasionally he makes veiled critical comments about two other authors (H. D. Wendland and Chr. Bourbeck). Furthermore, he bases his opinions for the most part on articles in journals, particularly those which appeared in *Mitarbeit* and the *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*. A number of these articles in the *Mitarbeit* come from his own pen anyway. His documentary material is limited to the sessions of the *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen*, to the minutes of a study conference which was held at Friede-

wald in May 1952, and to two essays by Simpfendorfer.

I particularly cite this selection of material because it seems to me to sufficiently illustrate that the basis from which he attempts to make statements regarding the whole of Protestant social work is far too narrow. In reality his statements do not cover the whole of Protestant social work! Neither the work of the social department of the church of Westphalia nor the work of the commission on social ethics of the church of the Rhineland receives any mention. Furthermore, one cannot find even passing mention of the social work of the churches of Baden and Bavaria. He says nothing whatsoever about the work carried on in the Academy at Loccum, for which he himself has been partially responsible.

The assumption that the *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen* constitutes a central organization for the social work of the territorial churches does not correspond with the facts. There are territorial churches in which the so-called central organization plays a very subordinate role. Consequently its pronouncements can in no way be regarded as authoritative for the whole of social work. Only in the church of Württemberg does the *Aktionsgemeinschaft* really play a significant role. Thus when Dr. Matthes criticises the *Aktionsgemeinschaft*, he is in essence criticising social work as it is practiced at Bad Boll. E. Müller has already made the same claims in a more detailed manner in *Mitarbeit*. Nevertheless, Dr. Matthes has taken no notice of this.

I think that these few remarks are enough to show that the author obviously did not sufficiently inform himself on the scope, methods of work and also the different theoretical approaches which exist in church social work, before writing his critique. This is particularly evident when he discusses "the" social work with regard to its content. He seems to regard it as an accepted fact that social work takes as its starting-point the "awareness of the glaring divergence between church and society in general and between the church and industrial society in particular" (see page 28) and, in this connection, he believes that social work is based upon a "socio-historical picture book perspective" namely upon the idea that there once was

a socio-historical epoch characterized by a "congruity between church and society" which must be reestablished today. Furthermore, it is wrong at the same time to make work in industry the point at which modern society can be integrated. His claims regarding the alleged ideological features of modern Protestant social work are grounded in a misinterpretation of the reality of social facts which he calls "differences of orientation." Now, it is indisputable that there have been, and perhaps still are, people who hold such a romantic view of social work. However, most of the men and women active in social work are not nearly so naive, although one cannot deny that work in industry is significant both for the individual and for society.

Furthermore, those active in church social work are already so experienced in social history that a "picture book perspective" can only be imputed to them by those engaging in nasty polemics against them. Moreover, work in industry is not a universal feature of church social work. There are territorial churches in which this branch of social work is not at all developed, or, however, where they do carry on social work oriented around a specific industry, as in the *Gemeinsame Sozialarbeit der Konfessionen im Bergbau* for example, it is carried out with a much greater objective knowledge of the character of modern industry than Dr. Matthes thinks. As far as the *Gemeinsame Sozialarbeit der Konfessionen im Bergbau*, which I myself supervise, is concerned, I can only say that its work has never devolved into "a personalistic theological approach" or into "psychological policies to keep the personnel content." Furthermore, had the author referred to the article by M. Donath, *Betrieb*, in the *Evangelisches Soziallexikon*, or had he read the *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft und Wirtschaftspolitik* (1957, page 120), then he could have easily ascertained that the representatives of Protestant social work have taken the various structural conflicts in industry into consideration. In contrast to the author's claim that social work has gradually lost its concern for the problem of alienation from the church (see his article in the *Mitarbeit*, Jg. 9, 1960, page 206ff.), I could, for example, refer to H. Plessner, *Das Problem der Öffentlichkeit und die Idee der Entfremdung*, (Göttingen, 1960). Plessner describes the idea of self-alienation as a "remnant of Romanticism." This is without

doubt also the case. If one uses the concept of alienation, then one must be clear about its history, a history which unequivocally shows that this concept is based upon the assertion that the individual is himself capable of overcoming his own alienation. Just this, however, is built into the very structure of modern planning and the motivational forces which Dr. Matthes evaluates so negatively. The problem of social roles is not as such identical with the problem of alienation.

However, even if one cannot go quite as far as Plessner and others, and if one agrees that self-alienation does exist, one must admit that this problem and its solution is much different than Hegel and Marx thought. It must be acknowledged that none of the many who have dealt with the problem of alienation have been able to point the way towards a satisfactory solution; this is just what Karrenberg has pointed out in his essay on Marx (see *Gestalt und Kritik des Westens*, Stuttgart, 1959) which Dr. Matthes criticizes in his article. At any rate, it is no solution to say that there are problems which cannot be resolved. They are insoluble in that there is never a perfect solution to them. However, one cannot prohibit responsible individuals from at least trying to find an approximate solution to these problems, whether they occur in the realms of industrial, economic or social life. It seems to me that Dr. Matthes takes a semi-fatalistic attitude, one which is encountered frequently today in sociology as well as in social philosophy. This leads, however, to the common attitude which in its most banal form asserts that one can allegedly do nothing to change existing circumstances. Unfortunately however, this gives impetus to the very de-personalization through overplanning which Dr. Matthes seeks to avoid. Moreover, one cannot accuse social work of trying to manipulate the individual through its conferences. Instead, one must take into consideration the fact that these conferences, as well as social work as such, aim at working against the de-personalization of the individual, thus they belong to those counter-movements in social life of which the author at one time wrote in *Mitarbeit*.

Furthermore, I cannot agree with his evaluation of social ethics. Dr. Matthes acts as if social ethics is synonymous with a plan of action for ridding the world of its problems. That is why he comes close to identifying social ethics with that which he calls manipulation. Here also I can only say that, had

Matthes read Karrenberg's book, which he criticizes, more thoroughly, especially Chapter 1, he could very quickly have rid himself of the idea that the "social ethical view" easily "does away with the problematical character of social problems." Those who are acquainted with the social-ethical literature of Wendland, von Bismarck, W. Schweitzer, H. Thielicke, W. Trillhaas, A. Rich, and others must honestly admit that social work is preceded by very thorough consideration of the problems.

Dr. Matthes was not successful in tracing the ideological features in Protestant social work. Indeed, it is increasingly evident that Matthes' thesis cannot be verified on the basis of the very narrow starting point and the many contradictory statements in the realm of social work literature which he has chosen. We gladly accept Dr. Matthes' positive suggestion that social work must evidence greater concern with respect to its interpretation of reality and the critique of its own motives. But this it has already been doing for a long time now.

It is, however, open to question whether Dr. Matthes, with respect to his condemnation of social work, himself does justice to his own demands for a sociological interpretation of reality. He has ignored a number of very important questions; is it true that mass organizations are gradually losing their significance, that the illusion that nothing is impossible with and in this world has really been dispelled, that the pressure for greater production is gradually being lessened in industry? In making assertions of this kind is he not perhaps much more concerned with the "future aspects" of his sociology than with existing social facts?

Not only must Dr. Matthes' attack on social work be rejected because it is not based on facts, but it is especially regrettable because he presupposes that this branch of church work has been misdirected from the very beginning. Actually, however, church social work is still in the process of development. The self-cognizance of social work is still in a state of flux. One can hardly expect otherwise in a field of work which is little more than a decade old.

Unfortunately I cannot give a detailed critique here. Within the scope of a letter to the editor I merely wanted to call attention to those points at which Dr. Matthes is very obviously in error.

W. Germany

CHRISTIAN WALTHER

Further Comments on Joachim Matthes' Article

Sir:

The discussions between Protestant theology and sociology which were begun in 1945 have gained an intensity of breadth and depth as well as a certain fascination during the last few years. This is due to the various tendencies of contemporary thought and to social and political developments. We mention merely the traditional philosophical orientation of German sociology which to a large extent (despite the existence of phenomenology) lost its classic partner, philosophy, due to the collapse of the "philosophy of the objective spirit" and the rise of existentialist philosophy and empirical sociology. From the stand-point of theology there occurred an obviously revolutionary break-through of the social realities of industrial society into theological thought, a process which appeared to be coupled with the genuine shaking of the foundations of theological thought itself. The above-described situation puts positive value on a sociologist's critical approach to Protestant social work and its implications. This positive evaluation increases, and often to an extraordinary degree, when the reflections of the sociologist are combined with an obviously intimate knowledge of the subject due to years of experience. On the basis of my fundamental agreement with the, as I see it, pioneer article by Joachim Matthes I take the liberty of making a few critical comments which deal at any rate with basic problems.

First of all it must be stated that the position, repeatedly discussed by Matthes that "the false orientations... are ideological because the distinction between practical experience on the one hand and value-judgments on the other is no longer carefully maintained and therefore becomes blurred," seems to constitute a basic problem for our large Western industrial society in all of its institutions. The cleft between action and orientation, namely the foundation of action on certain traditional, whether inadequate or only partially adequate, presuppositions, is certainly a phenomenon within Protestant social work which can be called, along with Marx, a "false" consciousness, thus an ideological consciousness. Nevertheless, the total and at the same time totalitarian character of this process of ideology-building is to some

extent blunted, according to Thibon who is quoted by Matthes, by the shrinking of the philosophical, political, protagonist character of ideologies to the status of opinions (doxai) which exceed their basis in experience. This occurs, namely, because the concept of ideology itself is used in a non-historical sense, at the same time the ideological phenomena within Protestant social work are viewed from an inner sociological perspective of the Protestant Church and not as the objective defensive position of one institution among other institutions. Matthes' study betrays a hope (never explicitly stated) that the Protestant Church can free itself of this dilemma within Protestant social work without any parallel revolutionary changes in the structure of society as such. This is, if at all, only possible if those dynamic tendencies are affirmed which Matthes appears to view as dangerous. I mean "the social-historical analysis," from which the concepts are derived by which "the structural analysis of the present social situation" is undertaken; but I mean also the so-called "utopian features of Protestant social work." In my opinion, every structural concept, which is used today in so-called functional analysis, is derivative and can only be used as a social-historical category. The element of historical-material contents and the implicit evaluation which such a concept includes is, to be sure, a problem which is not worth too much reflection, but nevertheless modern middle-range theories show that any attempt on the part of historically-developed societies to establish fixed universal laws and phases can only be accomplished by means of historically conditioned concepts and theories. I am reminded especially of the concepts, ideas and theories of estrangement and depersonalization and the modern concepts of work, property and economics. In this connection it should be mentioned that the modern factory has actually been the driving force in modern industrial society; that Lenin, above all the post-revolutionary Lenin, saw clearly that the bolshevistic factory cells provide an ade-

quate, rational as well as ideological form of accommodation to society. From this perspective diaconal work in industry in the sense of Eberhard Müller is historically, sociologically and politically understandable. However, it must be admitted, as Matthes has clearly illustrated, that industrial diaconal work has slipped into a practical, voluntary and activistic form which lacks authority. Furthermore, the question must be raised whether Matthes' view of the basis and derivation of this dichotomy in all of its phases, is based on exact presentations of, as well as on rationalizations about, the tasks of Protestant social work in society.

As far as the evaluation of the so-called utopian features of Protestant social work is concerned, Matthes' analysis betrays a sympathetic hope in the utopian power of the church's practical work. In fact his whole critique seems to be built up on it. In view of society as a whole and the rationalizations regarding it, which drive the utopian ingredients out of the dynamism of society and replace them with a political defense of the status quo, which is then conceived in sociological terms as "structure analysis"—I should like to put in my bid for the "naive optimism" of the utopian features of Protestant social work.

I fully agree with the sociological "themes" which Matthes has posited for future work, especially with his challenge to the theologians to reconsider what the identity between the world and society "means" as far as theology is concerned. Whether a "theological doctrine of the structure of society" is at all possible is one important aspect. For the social theoretician the question is formulated thus—whether an, at least partial, historical identity between totality (dynamic conflict-ridden society and its ideological-utopian pressures) and absoluteness is conceivable, upon which a "social system in transition" as we know it in both East and West can be based.

W. Berlin.

PETER CHRISTIAN LUDZ

BISHOP ANDERS NYGREN

It is almost an act of Providence that this issue of the Lutheran World, in which the first basic discussion on the nature of the Lutheran World Federation is published, can be dedicated to the first President of the Federation, to the Bishop and Professor of Systematic Theology, Anders Nygren, on the occasion of his Seventieth Birthday. For the theme which is dealt with in this discussion, the ecumenical role of Lutheranism, is more than any other the theme of his work. Without his life-work this discussion would certainly not have been possible. On the other hand, his work as theologian and as churchman is of such inexhaustible value that both the theological scholarship and the practical work of the church, on the local as well as on the ecumenical level, will be influenced by it for a long time to come.

Anders Nygren entered the theological discussion around the same time as did Karl Barth, namely in the crucial early Twenties. It was then that new questions and new methods arose to challenge the traditional perspectives. Theological scholarship was primarily concerned with history: alongside dialectical theology, alongside Formgeschichte, which was so significant for Biblical scholarship, there originated the Lundensian school of motif-research under Nygren's leadership.

Behind the program of theological scholarship of motif-research stands a very practical concern of the church, a concern for the relevancy of preaching. The search for the motif seeks to get behind the perhaps out-worn or thread-bare theological formulations in order to discover new ways to express what they really mean. In a world which has radically changed, motif-research is intended to help the church to rediscover her real mission to the world. For this reason it is especially careful to maintain a high level of scholarship; for this reason its leading representative offers his services to that aspect of the church's work which is particularly concerned with the church's mission to the world, namely the Ecumenical Movement. Anders Nygren became an ecumenical leader through his theological work, and he has cooperated in all the important phases of the Ecumenical Movement ever since the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order in 1927.

In the same vein, it can be said that precisely as an ecumenical theologian Nygren has always been aware of the significance of the Confessions in their historical forms. He has stated again and again, especially during the last decade, in almost all of his contributions to the ecumenical discussion that the question of the unity of the church is the question of the church's center. To this question the confession of faith in Jesus Christ is the answer. The church's whole practice and preaching must be based upon this confession. It gives them their authority and their cohesion.

According to Nygren, three great powers, the world, the ecumenical movement and the Lutheran Church, stand in a genuine relationship to one another, though there are tensions between them in theological thought as well as in church practice. Those who are involved in the church today know how difficult it is to achieve a proper relationship here; how theology is characteristically caught between

the demands of scholarship and those of churchliness; and how ministerial practice all too often slips into a fatal clericalism or a no less painful secularism. The real and authentic union between scholarship and ministry with which Anders Nygren is blessed makes him a characteristic example for the present generation of theologians.

Those who know him personally could certainly add something of greater value to these remarks, something which can only be known through personal encounter, namely the wonderful modesty and goodness of Anders Nygren, who, despite the many facets of his work, still has time to listen and to speak a friendly, comforting and encouraging word. The hard and candid exchange with the modern world need not be denied the witness of such a Christian life. In fact it cannot be; for where this exchange is carried on with a sense of its ultimate importance, as is the case with Anders Nygren, something of God's love shines through.

HANS BOLEWSKI

EDITORIAL NOTES

The dedication of this issue to Bishop ANDERS NYGREN on the occasion of his Seventieth Birthday is more than an expression of gratitude to the first President of the Lutheran World Federation. This issue deals with a question with which Dr. Nygren has always been concerned throughout the course of his work, both in his own church and in the ecumenical world. The debate which is published here centers upon an address given by Dr. PETER BRUNNER at the meetings of the Theological Commission at Amsterdam in August 1959. The editor takes this opportunity to thank those who contributed their "Comments." Thanks are especially due to the Acting Executive Secretary, Pastor KURT SCHMIDT-CLAUSEN, for his Contribution, and to Dr. REGIN PRENTER, Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Aarhus, Denmark, The Rt. Rev. BO H. GIERTZ, Bishop of Gothenburg, Sweden, Dr. ERNST KINDER, Professor of Systematic Theology, History of Theology and Symbolics at the University of Münster, Germany, Dr. EDMUND SCHLINK, Director of the Ecumenical Institute of the University of Heidelberg, Germany, Dr. STEWART HERMAN, Executive Secretary, National Lutheran Council Division of LWF Affairs, New York, USA, Dr. PAUL C. EMPIE, Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council, New York, USA, Dr. CONRAD BERGENDOFF, President of Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, USA, Dr. ROBERT FISCHER, Professor at Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Illinois, USA, Dr. SIEGFRIED PAUL HEBART, Principal of Emmanuel Theological Seminary, Adelaide, Australia, and Dr. KÁROLY PRÖHLE, Professor of New Testament at the Evangelical Theological Academy of Budapest, Hungary. Our special thanks go to Professor Peter Brunner for his Main Article and his Concluding Remarks.

The authors of reports in the sections, "The LWF and the Ecumenical World" and "Lands and Churches" are Pastor JÜRGEN ROLOFF, Assistant to the Director of the Department of Theology of the LWF, Dr. HORST BEINTKER, Lecturer at the Theological Faculty of the University of Greifswald, Germany, Pastor RUBEN A. PEDERSEN, Chairman of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika, Dr. ARNE SOVIK, Director of the Department of World Mission of the LWF, Dr. KEITH BRIDSTON, Executive Secretary of the Department of Faith and Order of the WCC, BISHOP OF MELOA EMILIANOS, the Acting Representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the WCC, The Rev. LEWIS S. MUDGE, Theological Secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (The World Presbyterian Alliance), Pastor RUFUS CORNELSEN, Director of Social Action, The Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America, New York, USA, Pastor GERHARD PEDERSEN, Assistant of the Commission for Inter-Confessional Research of the LWF, Copenhagen, Denmark, Mr. JONATHAN LINDELL, Acting Executive Secretary, The United Mission to Nepal, and Pastor OLAFUR SKULÁSON, Youth Secretary of the National Lutheran Church, Reykjavik, Iceland.

The writers of Book Reviews in this issue are Dr. BERNHARD ERLING, Assistant Professor of Christianity at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, USA, Dr. GERT OTTO, Lecturer at the Pedagogical Institute of the University of Hamburg, Germany, Pastor MARTIN KRUSE, Loccum, Germany, Dr. WILLIAM H. LAZARETH, Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, USA.

The letters to the editor on the article by Dr. Joachim Matthes in the LUTHERAN WORLD, June, 1960, were written by Dr. CHRISTIAN WALTHER, Director of the Council on Social Ethics of the Evangelical Church of the Rhineland, Germany, and Dr. PETER LUDZ, of the Institute for Political Science at the Free University of Berlin, Germany. Further contributions on this subject will be published in forthcoming issues.

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LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

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DECEMBER

1960

Inter-Confessional Research

Inter-Confessional Research is the newest field in which the Lutheran World Federation is active. The inclusion in the Literature Survey of a new section under this title is intended not only to report on the Federation work in this area but also to give expression to the great interest in this aspect of theological research, especially in the light of contemporary events among the churches. Here books from the field of inter-confessional research will be reviewed, as well as such works which may give an insight into the life and doctrine of other churches.

DAS LITURGISCHE MYSTERIUM UND SEINE VERKÜNDIGUNG (*The Liturgical Mystery and its Proclamation.*) *Liturgie und Kerygma Vol. 1—In spiritu et veritate.* By Linus Bopp. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1960. 470 pp. Paper DM 12.50, cloth 14.50.

This book does not quite fulfil that which one is led to expect from its title. In the first, the theoretical, part only a general introduction is given which deals with the history, motivations, the nature, the purpose and the goals of liturgical preaching. It amounts to a somewhat scanty presentation of the thesis that preaching should continually be nourished on the liturgical heritage of the church. Thereby the relationship between preaching and liturgy is preserved and the way is prepared for pastoral liturgical practice. Following this theoretical portion a short report is given on the methods, forms and limitations of liturgical preaching. Part 2, the paradigmatic portion, contains short sermons arranged according to the church calendar. Attention should be called to the fact that here the liturgy and not the kerygma provides the point of departure for these sermons.

There is scarcely one sermon based on a text in the Protestant sense. It is planned that in three subsequent volumes the paradigmatic part will be supplemented by lists of topics based on the church year, the sacraments and mass, and the rites of the church.

AN AMERICAN DIALOGUE. *A Protestant Looks at Catholicism and a Catholic Looks at Protestantism.* By Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, S. J. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960. 216 pp. \$2.95.

This study is written by two of America's most distinguished authorities on the Protestant-Roman Catholic dialogue. Robert McAfee Brown is professor of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary, and Gustave Weigel is professor of Ecclesiology at Woodstock College School of Divinity. The distinctive mark of this dialogue is that both writers deal with the full range of issues which trouble the Roman Catholic-Protestant relationship specifically as this is found in the United States.

The fullest documentation of the historical developments within the United States is given by Professor Brown's essay, and as such is a useful tool to introducing the reader to the specifically American problems involved in this issue. His greatest fear is that further developments in the doctrine concerning Mary may serve to bring about a final and irrevocable division between the two branches of Christendom. Of special interest in Father Weigel's presentation of Protestantism is the prominence which he gives to Kant, Oliver Cromwell and Paul Tillich as symbolic and significant in defining the Protestant principle. Weigel sees three interrelated thrusts as the core of the Protestant principle, namely: the primacy of the God-Man encounter, a skepticism toward any one way to intellectualize this experience, and the use of the Bible as a check

to an unlimited freedom of theological expression (pp. 189 f.).

Both theologians come out strongly for a dialogue which is both frank and open. They are equally fearful of religious bigotry and uncritical tolerance. In essence the book is a plea for a Catholic-Protestant dialogue in full recognition that both the differences and the similarities will come out in stronger focus.

MARTIN BUBER: JEWISH EXISTENTIALIST. By Malcolm L. Diamond. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. 240 pp., \$4.50.

This compact volume is contributed to the growing number of Buber studies by a young professor in the department of religion of Princeton University who is himself Jewish, but who is familiar also with Christian thought. The book stresses Buber's relationship to Judaism, in three respects: his role as an interpreter of the Old Testament; his scholarly and personal interest in Hasidism; and his critical participation in the Zionist movement.

Diamond points out that Buber has had a considerably lesser influence among his Jewish fellow-believers than among Christians. This may be explained, Diamond thinks, by the fact that Buber's Biblical theology is uncongenial to the liberal Judaism still under the influence of the Enlightenment, while his laxity in regard to the observance of the Halachah renders him unacceptable to orthodoxy.

In his final chapter, entitled "The Jewish Jesus and the Christ of Faith," Diamond presents Buber's views on Christianity, criticizing him for a one-sided understanding both of Jesus (whom Buber cherishes) and of Paul (whom he regards as the evil genius who "intellectualized" an originally dialogic faith). The volume closes with a brief comparison of Martin Buber and Reinhold Niebuhr as contemporary exponents of their respective faiths.

EUCHARISTISCHE GEBETE DER FRÜHEN KIRCHE. (*Eucharistic Prayers of the Early Church.*) Edited by Adelbert Hammann. Mainz: Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 1960. 304 pp. DM 9.80.

This little book is a collection of the most important prayers from the liturgical tradition of the ancient church. It is primarily intended

for use in Catholic congregations and by individual Christians. The prayers follow the order of the liturgy for the Mass (preparatory prayers, intercessions, anaphora, prayers for communion and prayers of thanksgiving). This book also includes sections on the liturgical year and feast days of the church. Since the book deals with the ancient church most of the prayers come from the Eastern tradition, although the Western liturgies (primarily material which is no longer in use in present-day Roman churches) are represented. This is not a scholarly work although much of the liturgical tradition of the ancient church is made available in the German language. It is translated into German from an original French edition.

CREDO ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM. By Max Lackmann. Graz: Verlag Styria, 1960. 616 pp. S. Fr. 36.00.

The sub-title of Lackmann's book is "Evangelical Confession against Protestantism." The thought here is a continuation of that expressed by the author in other books. This book, however, is evidence that his earlier "call from the church for aid to the church" has failed. Here there is no longer a call for aid but an emphatic rejection of Protestantism which "(can) neither be restored nor reformed." He cites five phenomena in the structure of Protestantism (the idea of excommunication, the Reformation principles of Old and New Protestantism, the anti-Catholic element, Luther as a Protestant, and finally "the Protestant church as a system of the lands and churches independent of Rome"). The author claims that Protestantism, as it has historically developed, is no longer true to the Reformation principle which gave it birth. It no longer represents a corrective force within the one holy catholic church, but, in essence, a state of decay in which both the ecclesiological consequences of the Two-Natures doctrine and essential elements of the empirical church (the office of the ministry, dogma, credal statements, etc.) have been lost. The only possible solution which the author sees is the exodus from this edifice. He pleads for an Evangelical Christendom which takes its Catholic heritage seriously and for a Catholic Christendom which acknowledges and takes up the Protestant heritage as part of the Catholic heritage. In his opinion, naturally, the conversion of individuals is of comparatively

little value, for through this process precisely that is lost which the convert has inherited as a Christian from his former fellowship. The attempt to link together these two great traditions and to realise them within the one catholic church can therefore proceed only through the work of smaller groups who are conscious of this mission. The author no longer puts his hope in the possibility that an entire Protestant church can experience a renewal but, at the most, that individual congregations and groups can. In the second part of his book the author presents a collection which includes "a catechism of the faith of the Augsburg Confession on eighteen central doctrines of the Catholic church, along with a comparison of Roman Catholic doctrinal statements according to the Catholic catechism of the dioceses of Germany with those of the decretals and canons of the Council of Trent." In doing so, he no longer takes the controversial points raised by Protestant polemics in the Sixteenth Century as his main motifs, "since the Protestant Christian, when speaking with Rome, no longer expresses his concern or raises his questions in that form."

ÜBERLIEFERUNG. TRADITION UND SCHRIFT IN DER EVANGELISCHEN UND KATHOLISCHEN THEOLOGIE DER GEGENWART. (*Tradition and Scripture in Contemporary Protestant and Catholic Theology.*) By Peter Lengsfeld. Published by Johann Adam Möhler Institut. Paderborn: Verlag Bonifacius Druckerei, 1960. 263 pp. DM 16.00.

This work, presented to the papal Gregorian university, attempts from the Catholic standpoint to throw light upon the question concerning the Scriptures and tradition which is being raised anew in present-day interconfessional discussions. The author begins by outlining the history of the discussion on this subject. This leads him to conclude that the Protestant argument, according to which the Roman Church's position on Scripture and tradition, whereby equal value is accorded to both, automatically leads to the supremacy of tradition over Scripture, has today lost its validity. The author then develops the theological doctrine of the tradition. According to the New Testament, God is himself the author of all *paradosis* because he delivered up his Son and gave him into the hands of sinners. Jesus is thereby both the bearer and

the content of the tradition; his proclamation is a judgment on all false and pagan *paradosis*. This line was carried on by the apostles who were the chosen bearers of the *paradosis*. Again, the primitive Christian *kerygma* and the creeds which have grown from it are not formal and secondary extracts from the Gospel but, on the contrary, the Gospel is derived from the *kerygma*, unfolding it through the act of proclamation.

The "broad kerygmatic stream of all that the apostles left behind" is unfolded and explained in both written and oral proclamation. In a section dealing with the problem of the canon the author shows how unsatisfactory all Protestant attempts to solve this question have been up till now. Here he deals almost exclusively with German-speaking theologians. For him the canon is already a result of tradition at work in the church: the authoritative tradition of faith understood as inspired by the Spirit of God helped to establish the canon. This means, however, that a canon which claims such dogmatic authority belongs together with the church which preserves and interprets it. Therefore contemporary Protestant critiques of the canon are viewed as an *argumentum e contrario* for the interdependence of church and canon. The principle of *sola scriptura* can, in the opinion of the author, only be maintained through the acknowledgment of the church's tradition. The tradition of the Roman Church which finds expression in the teaching office of the Pope is really meant to be nothing more than the interpretation of Scripture even if it cannot be expected of it to furnish exegetical proofs for its teachings. However, the task is left to theology to again and again demonstrate the *unanimity* of the church's doctrine and the Scriptures, which is guaranteed by the Holy Spirit. In conclusion, the author claims that on the Catholic side growing understanding of the Scriptures and on the Protestant side an increasing understanding of the significance of tradition can be seen.

ABENDMAHL UND OPFER. (*The Lord's Supper and Sacrifice.*) By Peter Meinhold and Erwin Iserloh. Stuttgart: Schwaben-Verlag, 1960. 163 pp. DM 5.90.

The year-book for the *Sammlung* this year includes two essays on the problem of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice. Peter Meinhold deals with the problem in Luther and main-

tains that "the Protestant conviction of the identity of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross with his real presence in the Lord's Supper represents a "catholic" element which lifts the entire (Catholic-Protestant) discussion of this subject to a new level" (p. 37). He traces three stages in Luther's thought on the Lord's Supper. In the author's opinion Luther's conviction of the real presence does not necessarily detract from the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper (p. 64). He believes that one can speak of a "representation of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross through the Lord's Supper" even in a Protestant sense. Erwin Iserloh, representing Catholic theology, clearly shows that the Catholic doctrine of the Mass is still far from final and is left to interpretation by the theologians (p. 75). Even the concept of *representatio* has in no way been unequivocally defined in regard to the Mass (p. 76). In order to explain Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper and his rejection of the Mass, he refers back to the "widespread inability of the Catholic theologians of that day to defend the Mass" (p. 80). He views Luther also as a nominalist. In the positive part of his essay the Catholic author cites the fact that on the basis of the work of Protestant theologians the possibility of clarifying inter-confessional theological difficulties is growing. He seeks to show that many Protestants, particularly Lutheran theologians, accept "the Lord's Supper as the means whereby the sacrifice of the Cross is made present to us." He defends the Catholic view of the Mass as "the sacrifice of the Church" (p. 97 ff.) and "as an expiatory sacrifice" (p. 101 ff.). Max Lackmann summarises the discussion at the end of the book.

UM DIE WIEDERVEREINIGUNG IM GLAUBEN. (*On Reunion in Faith.*) By Heinz Schuette. Essen: Fredebeul & Koenen KG, 1960. 208 pp. DM 9.50.

This book, which up till now existed only in manuscript form, has now been made available to a wider circle of readers. The first printings were received with approval even by Protestant theologians. The author is actually only editing here some essays by Protestant and Catholic theologians. In a number of chapters several important controversial questions between Protestant and Catholic theology are dealt with in such a manner that, without hiding the unanswered

questions, the degree is shown to which some rapprochement between theological standpoints which have often been regarded as irreconcilable has been achieved in modern theology. Therein the author is motivated by the fervent conviction that a reunion in faith is possible if the Protestants will acknowledge the genuine biblical intention of Catholic faith and if the Catholics will acknowledge the wholesome corrective of Protestant faith.

KATHOLISCHE ÜBERLIEFERUNG IN DER LUTHERISCHEN KIRCHENORDNUNGEN DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS, KATHOLISCHES LEBEN UND KÄMPFEN IM ZEITALTER DER GLAUBENS-SPALTUNG. (*Catholic Tradition in the Lutheran Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century, Catholic Life and Struggles in the Age of the Reformation.*) By Ernst Walther Zeeden. Vereinsschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum, Vol. 17. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960. 108 pp. DM 6.80.

This study by the secular historian from Tübingen, Ernst Walther Zeeden, which appeared under the episcopal imprimatur, is intended as nothing more than a first survey of the theme; it makes "no claims to completeness or universality." In using the concept "catholic" the author means "the tradition of the church in the pre-Reformation period." Furthermore, the author deals not with doctrine but with the externals of the church.

With these presuppositions the first chapter of this study under the theme "The conduct of worship" offers an informative survey of the various portions of the Lutheran liturgy, the appearance of the service itself, the practice of the sacraments, and the extent to which these things were rooted in the catholic tradition of the Middle Ages.

Much which has already been stated by Paul Graff and Georg Rietschel is presented here in abbreviated form. Nevertheless it is not within the author's purpose to deal with the unique Reformation theology which stands behind those orders adopted from the Roman Church. These external factors are cited simply on the basis of church orders and records of visitations. In similar manner in Chapter 2 on "conditions of law and economy", the origins of the Lutheran practice of discipline and excommunication are traced back to their Roman and medieval

precedents. But here neither the Reformation basis for church law is cited nor is the influence in the question of excommunication which Martin Bucer, the "theoretician of church discipline," exercised on church order mentioned.

In Chapter 3 on "the continuation of ecclesiastical abuses" the author deals with a problem which certainly would deserve a more thorough investigation. If the author's purpose in writing this little book is "to show that certain definite Catholic traditions have prevailed, how they looked and where they can be found," then this perhaps constitutes the motivation behind his treatment of continued ecclesiastical abuses.

Biblical Theology

OFFENBARUNG UND SCHRIFTFORSCHUNG IN DER QUMRANSEKTE. (*Revelation and Scriptural Research in the Qumran Sect.*) Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Vol. 6. By Otto Betz. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960. XII, 202 pp. DM. 24.20.

In a time that is so open to questions of biblical interpretation as is ours, this Tübingen dissertation arouses special interest, especially since it deals with the Qumran texts which have special claim on our attention. Betz deals with questions as to how the Essene sect of Qumran used and understood the Old Testament, especially the Law and the Prophets (chapters 1 and 2). The relationship between scriptural research and revelation is defined here in such a manner that Scripture is the source of revelation. Revelation only exists through the Scriptures, not alongside the Scriptures. The contradiction between this understanding of revelation and that, for instance, of Paul is worthy of note. There is here no trace that a view of revelation is claimed which contradicts the Scriptures; the concern here is the proper understanding of the Scriptures. This study of the Scriptures aims at explaining and interpreting "obscure" passages; though this naturally cannot be regarded as scriptural research in the modern sense. Rather, the ideas and presuppositions of the sect are incorporated into the text.

The scriptural research of Qumran finds the will of God proclaimed in the Torah,

while the prophetic writings primarily provide the basis for the interpretation of history. Thus the full understanding of the prophetic word is often only really possible in the eschatological situation of the Qumran congregation. The leading representative of scriptural research is the teacher of Righteousness. He acquires a certain similarity to Moses and prophetic figures, particularly Daniel.

In the third chapter the author deals with the Qumran sect's view as to how revelation is received. Among the many definitions of inspiration, such as the idea of the opening up of man's heart, the imagery of light, of water and of life-giving power in the songs of praise, the ancient idea of the Spirit of God receives special emphasis. It is treated fully. The author also deals with the doctrine of the Two Spirits, which must be strictly differentiated from the doctrine of the Spirit of God. The last chapter gives examples of various methods of scriptural interpretation.

The first three chapters are supplemented by references to the Essenes from Josephus and Philo. In a number of excursuses relationships to the New Testament are traced.

ÜBERLIEFERUNG UND AUSLEGUNG IM MATTHÄUSEVANGELIUM. (*Tradition and Interpretation in the Gospel of Matthew.*) By Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth and Heinz Joachim Held (Monographien zum AT und NT. Edited by G. Bornkamm and G. von Rad. Vol. 1.) Neukirchen Kr. Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1960. 304 pp. Paper DM 24.75, cloth DM 27.00.

The original interest in *Formgeschichte* as far as the synoptic gospels are concerned concentrated entirely on the formation of individual elements in the tradition, while the theological significance of the compiling and editing done by the Evangelists was to a great extent underestimated. During the last few years, however, it is precisely the intensive *Formgeschichte* studies of the Synoptic gospels which have brought to light the important role played by the Evangelists in the formation of the tradition as well as the unique theological character which they gave to it. Added to the pioneer work on the Gospels of Luke and Mark which had already appeared, this corresponding collection of studies on the Gospel of Matthew by G. Bornkamm and two of his students has

now been published. Along with the short study on "The Stilling of the Storm in the Gospel of Matthew" G. Bornkamm here investigates thoroughly the relationship between "Eschatology and Church in the Gospel of Matthew" (first appeared in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, Studies in Honor of C.H. Dodd*, 1956), drawing the conclusion that "the disciples of Jesus did not already constitute the band of the chosen but they first of all constitute the band of those called, whose fate is decided by whether or not they obey the divine will," measured by "the love shown or refused even to the least of these" (page 21). "Matthew's Understanding of the Law" which underlines this view is thoroughly analyzed by G. Barth. Finally, H. J. Held considers "Matthew as an Interpreter of the Miracles," whereby he particularly expounds the reciprocal relationship between tradition and interpretation in Matthew.

SAVED BY HIS LIFE. *A Study of the New Testament Doctrine of Reconciliation and Salvation.* By Theodore R. Clark. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959.

From the view point of the author the theological importance of the Resurrection has not been adequately recognized; he presents a study to show its importance for New Testament writers and for the contemporary theological scene. His method is both systematic and critical. He begins with "Man Against God" (Chapter I) where he pictures man's estrangement from God. Two views are presented and criticized which distort the New Testament view: 1) The Jesus-cult, including theologies of the incarnation, which is unduly preoccupied with the historical Jesus. 2) The Theology of the Cross, including the classical theories of the atonement, which isolates the event of the cross from the resurrection (Chapt. II-IV). The Doctrine of the Resurrection from the New Testament is presented with reference to the Coronation of the King as one motif and the Ever Present Christ as another (Chapter V-VI). The author then examines, what he considers, three "historic distortions of the Christian faith": 1) "the identification of the Word of God with human wisdom and words," 2) "identification of Christ with Jesus," and 3) "the identification of the Church with history." These all originate in the desire of man to bring reconciliation

under his control. The Resurrection is the "exegetical polemic for the correction of these distortions." (Chapters VII-IX). In the final chapter (X) the author points out the part the resurrection plays in such Biblical motifs as reconciliation, redemption, forgiveness, love, death; his main thesis is that "within the psycho-religious concept of self-crucifixion... we find the answer to the relationship between the Cross and the Resurrection in the Christian faith. For in the experience of self-crucifixion man too dies and rises with Christ into a creative and creating fellowship in the Spirit" (p. 204). "By denying self and affirming God he (man) discovers in this psycho-spiritual process that God through the Christ-Spirit is already at work within him enabling him to die to self and to rise to walk in newness of life" (p. 207). The author acknowledges his debt to the theology of Paul Tillich by frequent direct quotes. He illustrates his criticisms of distortions with quotes from many of the hymns particularly loved in his own tradition. Dr. Clark is Associate Professor of Systematic Theology at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary of the Southern Baptist Convention. He has done graduate work at Princeton University, the University of Southern California, and Harvard Divinity School.

NELSON'S SHORTER ATLAS OF THE BIBLE. By Lucas H. Grollenberg, O.P. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960. 199 pp. \$3.95.

This smaller book follows the larger Atlas of the Bible by Father Grollenberg of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. It is in no way an abridged version of the larger work but to a large extent contains new material. Although there are fewer maps (this book only contains nine maps), the emphasis lies in the wealth of pictures which portray especially the results of the latest archeological research. The brief text includes a general survey of the biblical lands, followed by short reviews on modern excavation techniques and the problems of research on cuneiform writings. Then follows a short outline of the history of Israel, intended as an introduction for the reader of the Bible. Here, in comparison with the larger Atlas of the Bible, more emphasis is placed on the results of literary and historical criticism, particularly in the chapter "The Colonization of Canaan." Also new is the section on the

Essene community of Qumran. The last section of the book sketches the background of the New Testament events. The text and picture section is followed by a listing of the illustrations as well as a topical index and an index of Scripture passages.

EXEGETISCHE VERSUCHE UND BE-SINNUNGEN. (*Exegetical Studies and Reflections*), Vol. 1. By Ernst Käsemann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. 316 pp. DM 16.80.

This book is a collection of the lectures and writings of the last two decades by Ernst Käsemann, the Tübingen Professor of New Testament. It begins with an essay on the "Approach and Character of the Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," which emphasizes especially the ecclesiological aspects of Paul's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Christ's giving of himself in the sacrament grasps man for total obedience within the body of Christ. Thus in the sacrament Christ proves himself the *kosmokrator*: the cosmic Lord; who establishes the new world within his body. The author carries on a comprehensive critical analysis of the Christ-hymn of Philippians 2 under the title "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy." After differentiating his position from exegetical history up till now, he arrives at a view which completely rejects the ethical interpretation in favor of an eschatological-soteriological interpretation. "This hymn represents the response of the Christian congregation on earth to the homage paid God by the celestial forces around the throne" (p. 94 ff.). From this point of view, a clarification of this hymn as baptismal creed seems imperative to the author.

A short essay, "On Understanding Romans 3, 24-26," is followed by a study on "A New Testament Formula for an Exhortation at Ordination." The author finds this in Timothy 6, 11-16. The hitherto unpublished lecture, "The Pastoral Ministry and the Congregation in the New Testament," delineates the various New Testament concepts of the ministry. Here the early charismatic view of Paul, which was based on the universal priesthood of believers, is sharply contrasted with the view promulgated at the end of the New Testament development, the early Catholic view of the Book of Acts. Here the concept of charisma has almost completely disappeared in favor of an in-

stitutionalism, and the *theologia gloriae* now ousts the *theologia crucis*. The essay, "An Apologia for Primitive Christian Eschatology," is devoted to the second epistle of Peter, coming to the conclusion that this is the clearest testimony of early catholicism. An exegesis of Acts 19, 1-7 is given under the title, "The Disciples of John at Ephesus," and the lecture, "Heretic and Witness," deals with the problem of the Johannine authorship; the author of the fourth Gospel, a presbyter, was a Christian Gnostic who identified himself with John, the beloved disciple. In contrast to early catholicism, he defended the primitive Christian position with the formulas of and from the perspective of Gnosticism. The volume also includes two well-known treatments of "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" (the problem consists in this that the exalted Lord has almost swallowed up the picture of the earthly Jesus, and yet the church maintains the identity of the exalted with the earthly Lord (p. 213)) and "Does the New Testament Canon Posit the Unity of the Church?" Here is clearly shown the author's penchant to war against all false churchly security which tries to seize on the gospel and to degrade it to the level of a value which can be objectified. The last essay is also devoted to the theme of the "Non-Objectifiability" of the gospel. The volume concludes with a series of sermon-meditations on biblical texts.

GOTT GEHT ES UM DAS GANZE. (*God's Concern is with the Whole*) (Isaiah 56-66 and 24-27). By Werner Kessler. *Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments*, Vol. 19. Stuttgart: Calwer-Verlag, 1960. DM 9.80.

DER TAG DES GERICHTES GOTTES. (*The Day of God's Judgment.*) By Rolf von Ungern-Sternberg and Helmut Lamparter. *Die Botschaft des alten Testaments*, Vol. 23, IV. Stuttgart: Calwer-Verlag, 1960. DM 12.80.

Werner Kessler deals with the later portions of Isaiah, i.e. with the last ten chapters, which are generally ascribed to the third Isaiah (Isaiah 56-66), and the so-called Isaiah-apocalypse (Isaiah 24-27). Both portions receive a careful exegesis which does not lose itself in exegetical minutia and controversial questions but which presents the latest results of research in a very fluid and understandable form. Both portions are preceded by a section dealing with introductory questions. The

introductory remarks on Isaiah 56-66 also include comments on the origin of the book of Isaiah. A synopsis summarizes the main lines of thought represented in this book.

In the second volume Rolf von Ungern-Sternberg presents an exegesis on the prophets Habakkuk, Zephaniah and Jonah. Helmut Lamparter deals with the book of Nahum. Both of these men follow the general pattern of this series. Alongside of the interpretation of individual passages there are general statements which summarize the results of the interpretation. Von Ungern-Sternberg stresses the relationships of these books to the New Testament, especially with the regard to the book of Jonah. The author deals here with the legendary features of this book and explains the re-appearance of this tradition in Jesus' preaching.

THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTES, Band 2. Die Theologie der prophetischen Überlieferungen Israels (The Theology of the Old Testament, Vol. 2). By Gerhard von Rad. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960. 480 pp. DM 24.00.

This volume concludes this major work by Gerhard von Rad, Professor of Old Testament at Heidelberg. The first main section presents an analysis of certain continuous characteristics of the prophetic proclamation. This methodological beginning already evidences the basic ideas of the author according to which the Jahweh religion can only be viewed in terms of a series of contingent appearances and events, and not in terms of an organic, historical development of certain categories of thought or piety. Before a theological interpretation can be arrived at the historical character of the Old Testament must be taken seriously. Accordingly, the prophetic movement is seen here in all its historical variety: there is a big difference between the earliest Nabi-movement (which perhaps arose as a protest against the prevailing culture) and the later prophetic books. The constitutive element for the prophets is their call, which can not be viewed as the product of their own religious experience; instead they are under compulsion from Jahweh to be prophets. The prophets proclaim the Word of God with an intensity which was never before seen in Israel. Particular attention is paid to the creative power of Jahweh's Word; because the prophets are the bearers of this Word their words and signs are creative

prototypes of that which is to come. Just as important for the understanding of the prophets is an understanding of the Hebraic concept of time and history. "Israel did not possess an absolute and linear view of time... it knew only 'fulfilled' time" (p. 113). From this starting-point the author shows the way to an eschatological interpretation of the prophetic view of history.

The second main section includes presentations of the message of the various prophets. Here the emphasis lies on the fact that what is involved here is a definite word for a definite historical hour and not abstract religious ideas. Accordingly the proclamation of each prophet is seen against the background of his environment and historical situation, whereby the differences between them are clearly shown.

Nevertheless, the things which they have in common are not overlooked. Among the most important of these the author counts their predisposition towards the new, towards the coming acts of God and thus their denial of the salutatory power of Jahweh's saving deeds in the past. However, the traditions of the past are thereby projected into the future; this was "the only possibility for the prophets, to make real statements about God's plan for the future" (p. 312).

The third main section of the book contains the author's ideas on the hermeneutic problem of the Old Testament. He bases his views on the historicity of the Jahweh religion, thus precluding the possibility of tracing lines of development between the ideas of the Old and New Testaments. What remains, however, is the openness of the Old Testament towards the future. All of God's acts witnessed in the Old Testament bear the characteristic of incompleteness even as regards their fulfilment. Thus, for example, the occupation of Canaan according to Deuteronomy is both an expectation and a promise of a greater act of God which is still to come. The entire Old Testament is full of types which are open to the future; this refers not to individual persons but to events. The author has equally little desire to construe a *heilsgeschichtliches Schema* in the fashion of the Hegelian school; for him the *Heilsgeschichte* consists in laying free, ferreting out and tracing the basic movement of the Old Testament which is certainly taken up by the New Testament in that the latter presents Christ as the final fulfilment of the Old Testament events and types. Without meaning

to detract from the once-for-all character of the Christ-event, the author comes to the conclusion not only that the Old Testament must be understood from the perspective of the New but that, contrariwise, it is impossible to understand the New Testament without the Old.

DIE AUFERSTEHUNG JESU. FORM, ART UND SINN DER URCHRISTLICHEN OSTERBOTSCHAFT. (*The Resurrection of Jesus. Form, Manner and Meaning of the Primitive Christian Easter Message.*) By Karl Heinrich Rengstorf. 4th revised edition. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1960. 173 pp. DM 16.80.

This book by the Professor of New Testament at the University of Münster, Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, is a complete revision of a series of lectures previously published in 1952. Here the emphasis is placed above all on his discussion of theological literature which appeared during the past year. The basic thesis of the author is that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is the central point in the New Testament kerygma, that is, it is not something additional, a fact which interprets the significance of the Cross. In the chapter, "The Place of the Resurrection of Jesus in the Kerygma," the New Testament witness to the Resurrection is interpreted with the result that the Resurrection becomes "the actual basis for the specifically Christian belief in God" (p. 38). Under the title "The Kerygmatic Character of Jesus' Resurrection" the author discusses the origin of the Resurrection faith and the nature of the appearances of the resurrected Lord. Here especially the hypothesis that these were merely visions, one which has been repeatedly proposed ever since David Friedrich Strauss, is rejected. It contradicts not only the testimony of the empty grave but also the testimony of the activity of the resurrected Lord in contrast to the definite reticence of his disciples. Finally, according to the author, the kerygmatic meaning of Jesus' Resurrection lies in the fact that here Christian faith in creation finds its basis. Here above all emphasis is laid on the identity and at the same time the changed character of Jesus' resurrection body. Especially interesting in this connection is the author's treatment of Jesus' parables of seedtime and harvest: through them the author views the Resurrection as interpreting God's creativity. The

author also views the mystery of the Resurrection and the resurrected Lord in this same connection, for "the Resurrection of Jesus and He himself as the resurrected Lord stand in the same relationship to the world as do the creation of all things by God and God himself as the Creator" (p. 99 ff.). A series of excursions is devoted to special questions such as those related to I Corinthians 15, Resurrection features in the synoptic picture of Jesus, and the relationship between the Easter kerygma and the Church's consciousness.

KERYGMA UND HISTORISCHER JESUS. (*The Kerygma and the Historical Jesus.*) By James M. Robinson. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1960. 192 pp. Paper DM 17.80, cloth DM 24.00.

In the last few years the question concerning the historical Jesus, which had remained in the background ever since Albert Schweitzer, has gained increased attention in the field of German New Testament research. This work by James M. Robinson, Professor of New Testament at Southern California School of Theology, is a report on this development from the pen of an Anglo-Saxon New Testament scholar. Professor Robinson was a visiting professor at Göttingen and Zürich in the academic year 1959-1960. The book under consideration here is a revised and enlarged edition of his English book, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1959).

The comprehensive introduction traces the rise of this question in German theology of the last few years as represented by Käsemann, Diem, Fuchs, Stauffer and Bornkamm. The first chapter, "The Impossibility and the Illegitimacy of 'Life of Jesus' Research," deals with the problematical nature of the question since Albert Schweitzer. The certainty of the life of Jesus can no longer be used today to dispel the uncertainty of faith; it is equally illegitimate to attempt to trace the spiritual development of Jesus. The theological perspective which calls for a return to "life of Jesus" research corresponds in principle to the basic structure of existentialist philosophy of our day. The second chapter deals with "The Possibility of a New Question of the Historical Jesus." To be sure, Dodd's attempt to derive a chronology of the life of Jesus from the kerygma is rejected, just as is the attempt by scholars

such as Stauffer to discover new sources. Today, in the opinion of the author, the question of the historical Jesus must be approached through the new perspectives on history and existence opened up by Bultmann. "The sources give rise to a new form of the question of the historical Jesus, one which is related to the modern understanding of history and existence" (p. 89). The third and fourth chapters attempt to show that new studies on this question must start with those logia of Jesus in the kerygma which were untouched by the influence of the primitive Hellenistic congregation on the formation of the kerygma: from them one can derive Jesus' understanding of existence. This must then be compared with the kerygma, whereby the significance placed upon the kerygmatic references to Jesus must be critically tested. In the last two chapters the author unfolds major features of his program in that he deals with certain features of modern research and suggests a method for an objective comparison. He thereby finds that the eschatological structure of the logia of Jesus, which is above all evidenced by the polarity of its concepts, reveals an existential dialectic which corresponds to Jesus' understanding of his day and thus to his understanding of existence. "This eschatologically qualified present into which God has come provides the basis for a faith-existence. In Jesus this existence is realised. His message consists in this, that here this understanding of existence finds verbal expression."

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS. By D. S. Russell. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press; London: SCM Press. 1960. \$2.50.

R. H. Charles in 1914 published his book, *The Religious Development Between the Old Testament and the New Testament*, and now D. S. Russell, principal of Rowdon College, Leeds and Professor of Old Testament Studies has published a book of similar size and purpose which brings the earlier material up to date. The discoveries of the Scrolls by the Dead Sea provided a fund of material which measurably increased not only our knowledge but our awareness of the inter-testamental period. This added information has been used by Prof. Russell especially when he deals with sects, with extrabiblical literature and with contemporary concepts of messiahship.

The book is divided into two parts, the first concerned with "The Cultural and Literary Background" of the period, particularly from the religious point of view, and the second concerned with "The Apocalyptists." This kind of acknowledgment of the significance of apocalyptic, anticipated by H. H. Rawley's *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 1944, is certainly no less appropriate today.

KOMPOSITION UND HERKUNFT DER JOHANNESISCHEN REDEN. (*Composition and Origin of the Johannine Discourses.*) By Siegfried Schulz. (*Beiträge für Wissenschaft vom alten und neuen Testament*, edited by Karl Heinrich Rengstorff and Leonhard Rost, V. 1.) Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960. 215 pp. DM 18.00.

This study of the composition of the sayings in the Gospel of John, which followed out of the doctoral thesis by Siegfried Schulz, is the first in the new fifth edition of a very significant series which was founded by Rudolf Kittel and later continued by Albrecht Alt and Gerhard Kittel. The as yet unsolved question of the various traditions in this Gospel is dealt with as a continuation of the research which has taken place up till now and as an evaluation of the many new texts which were discovered and made available during the past ten years (Iranian and Coptic Manichaica, Nag-Hamâdi papyri, Qumran texts, pre-Christian Greek Bible fragments, from Qumran 4 and Murrabba'at, fragments of the prophetic targum and the pentateuch targum in Neofiti 1). The results are sometimes surprising. One of the main conclusions of this study is that the logos hymn and the "I am" words and sayings, as well as the late Judaistic, apocalyptic concepts of Son of Man, Son, Paraclete and Second Coming are rooted in late Judaistic, non-pharisaic ideas. The syncretistic features of the Johannine tradition come from a sectarian Judaism. The Johannine habura (brotherhood) consisted, for the most part, of members "who came from the late Judaistic Palestinian sects and became Christians. In this hour the Johannine habura and the Johannine literature as well were born. These Christians brought their own traditions along, which were very old... From a sectarian Judaism came the Qumran, baptist, apocalyptic and early mandean groups, out of which the Johannine habura arose, as a non-pharisaic, independent form of early Christianity."

JAHWES EIGENTUMSVOLK. (*Jahweh's Own People.*) By Hans Wildberger. *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Vol. 27. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1960. Paper, Sw. fr. 19.50.

This book by Hans Wildberger, Professor of Old Testament at the University of Zürich, presents a new *Formgeschichte*-oriented study on the concept of the Elect in the Old Testament. The starting point for this work is Exodus 19, 3-8. This passage is understood as the proclamation of Israel's election. Its content is the flight from Egypt and the occupation of Canaan; there is no connection here to the tradition of the Covenant. The essential motifs of this proclamation can also be found in other statements on the Elect, and it is shown that Exodus 19 is the origin of a tradition which is continued through cultic practices. This proclamation goes back to a festival celebrating the election of Israel, one which was celebrated at an early stage in Israel's history and which can be identified with the Mazzot-Feast. The author locates this festival in Gilgal, to a great extent agreeing with the studies of H. J. Kraus. In the course of his study the author deals with the literary and theological questions connected with the history of the proclamation of election in Exodus 19. The identification of the concept of election with the tradition of the covenant probably occurs during the time of the establishment of the Temple at Jerusalem and is undoubtedly due to a man identified with the Jahwist. The theological significance of the tradition of election rests above all on three decisive motifs: Israel as the "Jahweh's own people," as "his kingdom ruled through the priests," and as "his holy people." The way in which later tradition takes them up and adapts them is discussed in detail here. The proclamations of election must be seen in close relationship to the *Heilsgeschichte*, since the *Heilsgeschichte* is the context against which faith and election must be seen. As such it is open, that is, it includes other traditions besides those of Israel's escape from Egypt and occupation of the Holy Land. As far as the relationship between the doctrines of election and the covenant is concerned, it is only the doctrine of election which provides a proper basis for the theological understanding of the Old Testament.

THE RULE OF GOD. *Essays in Biblical Theology.* By G. Ernest Wright. New York:

Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960. 133 pp., \$2.95.

G. Ernest Wright, formerly at the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, is now Parkman Professor of Divinity at Harvard Divinity School. He is well-known for his books on Old Testament theology, and is an acknowledged expert in archeology, having directed archeology expeditions in the Near East.

The Rule of God brings together seven essays originally presented in lecture form to a number of Protestant theological groups. Three of the essays are expositions on Old Testament passages; the other four deal in turn with the Biblical doctrine of society (based on previously published material), the developing meaning of the temple, the Holy Spirit, and the gifts of God. Through out these essays the reader will meet Wright's contention, so clearly visible in the title of this work as well as some of his other books, that God is actively at work in the history of his people. But because Wright sees the threat of organized religion, against which a prophetic criticism must be directed, he stresses the human response to the rule of God, somewhat at the expense of an appreciation for the forms which God's present rule must take in the experience of the Church.

Historical Theology

MÄNSKLIGT OCH KRISTET. EN STUDIE I GRUNDTVIGS TEOLOGI. (*Human and Christian. A Study of Grundtvig's Theology.*) By Harry Aronson. Stockholm: Svenskabokförlaget, 1960. 312 pp. Sw. Kr. 26.00.

This book on the Danish theologian, pedagogue and national leader, N. F. S. Grundtvig, is the first major study of his literary activity from a systematic theological standpoint. The relationship between the human-national elements in Grundtvig's thought, as manifested in his mythology, historical works, poetry and pedagogy, to his religious-theological influence has long been the object of discussion within Danish religious and cultural life; the author also begins his analysis with this central point.

Under the title, "Life and Death," the first chapter of the book describes the central

problem in Grundtvig's thought, which was closer to that of the early church than to that of the Reformation (Grundtvig was influenced greatly by Irenaeus). At the same time, nevertheless, he was strongly influenced by the thought of his day, not the least by the philosophy of Wolff, particularly in respect to the view of death. The author locates the basic systematic problem of Grundtvig in the tension between these two movements of thought, the one coming from the ancient church and the other from Grundtvig's contemporaries. After a detailed presentation of Grundtvig's doctrine of creation and his anthropology, the author, in the following chapter, "Divine and Human," deals with Grundtvig's christology which he views as the highpoint of Grundtvig's theological thought. Here he deals with the problem of the doctrine of the two natures of Christ and in this connection also he treats of Grundtvig's unique doctrine of the church which centers in the concepts "confession," "proclamation" and "praise." Characteristic for Grundtvig's thought are his ideas from the growth of mankind since the creation to the full salvation through Christ and his victory over the enemies of man. Under the title, "Human and National," the third and final chapter deals with Grundtvig's thought on creation. Here follows a study of Grundtvig's ideas on the forms of human society and a more detailed analysis of his anthropology as it is encountered in his thoughts on mythology and history as well as in his ethics and pedagogical principles. Here the author also touches upon Grundtvig's thought on the problem of the folk-church. The tension between the biblical, early-church ideas and the ideas which Grundtvig adopted from contemporary thought, which from a systematic-theological viewpoint constitutes a dangerous element, is demonstrated throughout the book.

CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE. By Roland H. Bainton. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. \$4.75.

Similar in style and scholarship to his well-known life of Luther "Here I Stand," this volume, by Dr. Bainton, professor of Church History at Yale University, is a comprehensive survey of attitudes toward peace and war through the whole history of western man. Covered are the viewpoints prevailing among the early Christians, in the

Holy Roman Empire, at the Reformation, and in each succeeding century. The survey concludes with a discussion of the Christian's predicament today. The main threads of research may be identified as pacifism, the just war and the Crusade. The author is most sympathetic in his attitude toward pacifism though he gives fair treatment of all points of view. Luther's position is amply defined, especially in the chapter entitled "Wars of Religion."

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. *From the Fall of Rome to the Fall of Constantinople.* By William R. Cannon. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 352 pp., \$4.50.

This book was written because "Christianity in the Middle Ages has been a concern of too few among English-speaking Protestant Church historians." To serve this need, the author, Dean of Emory University's Candler School of Theology, has written a lucid general work on the basis of Migne, Mansi, the *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and other sturdy sources. A list of sources in English translation is appended.

All of the major events with meaning for Church History between 476 and 1453 are touched upon, and the social and political implications are brought out as well as the religious. Western Christianity naturally dominates the account, but Byzantine Christianity is also given the attention which it deserves but doesn't always receive in a general work. The intricate interplay between the imperial and papal interests in the West is clearly drawn. The human touch is skilfully interwoven into the vast array of facts.

ST. IGNATIUS AND CHRISTIANITY IN ANTIOCH. By Virginia Corwin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. 293 pp., \$5.00.

This study of Ignatius has resulted from a doctoral study at Yale Divinity School by the author, Virginia Corwin, who is presently chairman of the Department of Religion at Smith College. Dr. Corwin describes with considerable detail the life of Ignatius and his background at Antioch. She makes particular use of archaeological material and newly discovered documents, particularly the Dead Sea scrolls. Secondly,

to the devil the sacrifice of Christ is the satisfaction of God's justice. With Luther and Calvin the motifs of victory and sacrifice push penal substitution to the background, but shortly after the Reformation penal substitution became the orthodox theory. Reaction and break with Calvinist orthodoxy came with Campbell in Britain and Bushnell in America. Abelard's moral influence theory was revived by Rashdall and Franks, but a return to objectivity came with Dale, Denney, and Forsyth. The post-war discussion has centered on the work of G. Aulen, F. Hicks, V. Taylor, E. Brunner, and D. Bailie.

With all the vacillation manifest in theories about the atonement one might wonder how the fact of atonement and its saving effect could meaningfully reach continuing generations of believers. The thesis of Dr. Paul is that in the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist the meaning of atonement as sacrifice, vicarious penalty, victory, and example is adequately communicated.

HERMANN BEZZEL, THEOLOGIE—DARSTELLUNG—FORM SEINER VERKÜNDIGUNG (*Hermann Bezzel, A Presentation of His Theology and the Form of His Preaching.*) By Manfred Seitz. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1960. 244 pp. DM 15.00.

This work, a dissertation presented to the University of Erlangen, is devoted to the important Lutheran churchman, Hermann Bezzel, who exerted a lasting influence as Wilhelm Löhe's successor at Neuendettelsau and later as president of the Church of Bavaria. The work begins with a short biography of Bezzel, in which various new sources are used. The second part, "The Word of God and Preaching," gives an introduction to Bezzel's theological thought, wherein the concept of condescendence as the leading idea in his theology is subjected to a thorough study. The incarnation of Jesus Christ and his humble ministry to man were, as the author shows, already leading motifs in Luther's thought. The question is raised here as to how Bezzel came into contact with this motif, which was forced into the background by Nineteenth Century liberalism. The conclusion is drawn that Bezzel was strongly influenced by Johann Georg Hamann. A number of very interesting lines of thought are traced which originated with

Hamann and which influenced the pietistic movements of the Nineteenth Century as well as the Erlangen theology. The author then investigates the art and manner in which Bezzel expressed the New Testament witness to the condescendence in his sermons and Bible studies. Bezzel's work, "The Servant of God," is extremely significant as a key to his theology. A further section deals with Bezzel's view of the sermon and preaching as well as of the tasks of the ministry in the congregation.

DEN KRISTNA MISSIONENS HISTORIA. (*The History of the Christian Missions.*) By Knut B. Westman and Harald von Sicard. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1960. 382 pp.

Apart from the seven-volume work by Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The History of the Expansion of Christianity," there is scarcely a comprehensive modern handbook on the history of missions today. The senior scholar of Swedish mission research, the eighty-five year old K. B. Westman has attempted to fill this gap, at least as far as the Scandinavian language is concerned, with the help of H. von Sicard. The index, which covers 34 pages, indicates that there is hardly a topic in the realm of Christian missions which has not been included in this compendium. Following a survey on the development of the missionary idea and the missions, work in the "home lands" (the Ancient World, pp. 17-23, the Middle Ages pp. 34-54, the Modern Age pp. 55-81, and the "World Mission" pp. 82-148), the book deals with the "mission fields" in a large section which covers the entire second half of the book (pp. 149-331). Even though the book lacks bibliographical references to the individual chapters, the appearance of such a concise and very objective handbook should be greeted with joy. It is hoped that this work will be translated into one of the major languages of the world.

Systematic Theology

NATURE AND HISTORY. A STUDY IN THEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE METHOD OF MOTIF RESEARCH. (*Studia theologica lundensia, No. 19.*) By Bernhard Erling. Lund: CWK Gleerups Bokförlag, 1960. 286 pp. Sw. Kr. 20.

(WA 50, 1538), "Against the Thirty-two Articles of the Louvain Theologians" (WA 54, 1545), and "Preface, An Italian Lie Concerning Luther's Death" (WA 54, 1545), are all products of heated controversy and evangelical reconstruction. Finally, the aged Reformer bequeaths his teaching and possessions to posterity in "Preface to Luther's German Writings" (WA 50, 1539), "Preface to Luther's Latin Writings" (WA 54, 1545), and "Luther's Will" (WA, Br 9, 1542).

All but one of these treatises appear in their entirety in English for the first time here. Translators include the editor, Prof. Robert R. Heitner, and Prof. Lewis W. Spitz, Sr. An index of names and subjects and a register of biblical passages complete the volume.

THE WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER,
French Edition Vol. IV. Geneva, Labor et Fides: 1960. 270 pp.

This fourth volume of the French edition of Luther's works, edited by Franck D. C. Gueutal with the assistance of Th. Süss, follows a chronological scheme. It includes writings on various topics from the years 1523-1526, most of which deal with social, political and economic questions. The following writings are included: Of Secular Authority, to What Extent We Owe It Obedience (W.A. XI, 245-288), That Jesus Christ is a Born Jew (W.A. XI, 314-336), The Reason Why a Christian Assembly of Congregation Has the Right and Authority to Judge All Doctrine, to Call, Install and Dismiss Teachers: Proved from Scripture (W.A. XI, 408-416), An Open Letter to the Councilmen of all Cities of Germany, Urging Them to Establish and Maintain Christian Schools (W.A. XV, 27-53), On Trading and Usury (W.A. XV, 239-313), An Admonition to Peace in Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia (W.A. XVIII, 291-334), Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants (W.A. XVIII 357-361), The German Mass and Order of Divine Public Worship (W.A. XIX, 72-113), Whether Soldiers, Too, May Live in a State of Salvation (W.A. XIX, 623-662).

ELIZABETH I AND THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT OF 1559. *By Carl S. Meyer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960. 182 pp. \$4.95.*

The famous Elizabeth Settlement of English religious affairs, effected by Parliament 1559 with the support of Queen Elizabeth I, established the Anglican Church as the church of the *via media* and powerfully influenced the subsequent course of English history. After briefly characterizing Elizabeth and the principal officials of her government, the author concentrates his attention upon the events of the crucial year 1559. Two acts of Parliament are discussed as belonging "to the very essence of the Religious Settlement." The Act of Supremacy designated Elizabeth as "the only supreme governor" of the Church and required all ecclesiastical and civil officials to take an oath of loyalty to her. The Act of Uniformity determined ecclesiastical polity, established order, and required the use of a common prayer book. The Elizabethan Prayer Book was essentially the Second Book of Common Prayer produced by Archbishop Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI.

Dr. Meyer devotes succeeding chapters to the Religious Settlement in its relationship to each of the following: The clergy, the laity, "The Old Religion," and Puritanism. A final chapter is devoted to the evolution of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which represented the doctrinal aspect of the Settlement, although subscription to the articles was not officially required until 1571. The author, a pastor and theological professor of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, shows particular interest in pointing out where Lutheran influences may be seen, both in the personalities responsible for the Elizabethan Settlement and in the documents themselves.

THE ATONEMENT AND THE SACRAMENTS. *The Relation of the Atonement to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. By Robert S. Paul. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 396 pp. \$6.50.*

This book is divided into three parts: 1) the legacy of atonement thinking from the ancient world, 2) theological dispute in the modern period, and 3) application of atonement doctrine to the dominical sacraments.

For the early Fathers the atonement was a fulfillment of the Incarnation, with the concept of sacrifice rather ambiguously confused with the idea of a ransom paid to the devil. Anselm reversed the order of Incarnation and atonement so that the purpose of Incarnation is atonement. Also instead of a ransom paid

she presents the basic theology of Ignatius. A specific purpose here is to dispute recent German research which has found in Ignatius a gnostic theology. Finally, Ignatius' view of the Christian life is described.

While Dr. Corwin considers recent research in Ignatius as well as new materials, she does not specifically deal with such problems as the place of Ignatius and the Ignatian church in the early church. In so far as she is more interested in the personal Christianity of Ignatius, she follows the approach set at Union Theological Seminary by McGiffert and followed by Moffatt and Richardson.

WESLEY'S CHRISTOLOGY. *An Interpretation.* By John Deschner. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1960. 220 pp. \$4.50.

This volume was originally written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Basel under the supervision of Professor Karl Barth. Using Wesley's "standard" sources, i.e. the forty-four sermons, *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*, and the Twenty-Five Articles, the author has developed a systematic account of the Christology of the founder of Methodism. While this is seen to fall in line with the classical Nicene and Chalcedonian tradition, nevertheless two distinct Wesleyan characteristics are observed: 1) there is a "two-sidedness" due to the legalism of Wesley's youth and the comprehension of grace in his maturity; and 2) there is a heavily weighted emphasis upon the divine nature of Christ and his exalted state at the expense of his human nature and his state of humiliation. Wesley's doctrine of Christ is treated in the classical scheme: person of Christ, states of humiliation and exaltation, work of Christ. In developing the work of Christ the author shows that the priestly intercession in the exalted state over-shadows both the kingly and prophetic work, but this is again due to Wesley's primary concern for the Christ who lives.

CONFESSIO AUGUSTANA. *Oversættelse med noter. Indførelse i den lutherske reformationens hovedtanker. (Confessio Augustana. Translation with notes. An Introduction to the Basic Thought of the Lutheran Reformation.)* By Leif Grane. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1959. 216 pp.

Grane's book is essentially a commentary on the Augsburg Confession. It is intended neither to be a "theology of the Augsburg Confession" nor to develop a dogmatic based on the Augsburg Confession. Rather, its intention is much more to show the place which the Augsburg Confession actually occupies in the history of theology. The author presents a completely new Danish translation, which happens to be the first based on the Latin text of the scholarly edition of the Lutheran Confessions published in 1930. Alongside short notes on the text he gives a detailed commentary on the first twenty-one Articles, while the commentary on those Articles "on which there is division of opinion" is somewhat shorter. He lays a great deal of importance on showing the relationship between the Augsburg Confession and Luther's theology. Furthermore he also makes a large number of references to medieval theologians (above all in the commentary to Articles 2 and 6), to the Tridentine Formula (to Articles 4 and 12, etc.), as well as to Zwingli, Bucer and others. The book is thus an extremely valuable work in the field of the history of theology.

THEIR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. *The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland.* By Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1959. 142 pp. \$2.75.

Centering his attention on the Maryland Ordinance of 1639, Father Hanley seeks to prove that its liberal provisions regarding representative government and religious toleration grew out of a long-standing position of English Catholics. He asserts that the right of individual conscience, charity in Protestant-Catholic relationships, and limitation of the rights of the church and the state to their own particular sphere grew out of Thomas More's *Utopia* and the views of William Cardinal Allen and Robert Cardinal Bellarmine. Hanley contrasts the religious toleration of the English Catholics in Maryland with the confusion of spiritual and civil authority by the sovereigns of England from Henry VII to Charles I and with the religious intolerance of the Puritans. No explicit attempt is made to relate this "tradition" of Catholic political and religious theory to contemporary problems of church and state. The author is professor of history at Marquette University.

EVANGELIUM UND DOGMA. DIE BEWÄLTIGUNG DES THEOLOGISCHEN PROBLEMS DER DOGMENGESCHICHTE IM PROTESTANTISMUS. (*The Gospel and Dogma. The Theological Problem of the History of Dogma in Protestantism.*) By Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959. 315 pp. DM 25.00.

This book, which was intended as a prolegomenon to the history of dogma, shows how close dogma and the history of dogma are to one another; one could say it is a history of Protestant attempts to write a history of dogma. Kantzenbach's method is to divide the time span from the Sixteenth Century to the present into "the pre-history to the history of dogma to its origin in the age of enlightenment" (pp. 9-103) and "the history of the discipline from Wilhelm Münscher to the present" (pp. 105-250). The pre-history begins with Erasmus, but it is preceded by the church history in the "polemic-apologetic age" prior to Erasmus. It deals with the Reformation, Orthodoxy, Petavius, and Forbesius a Corse, Gottfried Arnold, Toland and Souverain, Mosheim and Semler, and Lessing up to F. W. Jerusalem's History of Dogma. According to the author, this period is influenced by Humanism. The actual history of the discipline, the history of dogma, begins with Lange and Münscher. He then deals with the Nineteenth Century works on the history of dogma, which were influenced by Hegel, including Bauer, Dorner, Marheineke, Meier, Engelhardt and Kliefoth. This study continues with Harnack to G. Thomasius and Fr. Nitzsch. It deals further with the motif-research of Aulen and Nygren, W. Köhler's "The History of Dogma as a History of the Christian Self-Consciousness," M. Werner's presentation of the history of the problem of the origin of Christian dogma from the perspective of the de-eschatologization of Christendom, and finally with Werner Elert. The book is a collection of research-essays stemming from various periods and above all dealing with works on the previously mentioned theologians and historians of dogma. Although this book is based on very little original research work on the problem of the history of dogma by the author himself, it nevertheless, due to the manner in which it presents various lines of development and individual opinions on the problem of the development of Christian

dogma, remains a very fruitful book which fills a definite need. The concluding portion of the book deals with modern theological questions and their effect on the problem of the history of dogma (pp. 255-311). The author, having dealt with the variety of different positions, influenced in his opinion by Barth, Elert, New Testament exegesis and G. Ebeling, is seen to hold that: "the theological problem of the history of dogma and the possibility of its being solved by the theologians of the present day" depends on the acknowledgment that "theology as a function of the church needs dogma in its proclamation, its prayer and its witness; it also needs dogma as a defense against misinterpretations of the Christian message. However, dogma can never be anything more than a point of orientation with respect to the kerygma, an answer to the Word" (p. 301). "The Reformation represents the deepest cut in the history of dogma" (p. 310). But "for the sake of our catholic responsibility the question of our Scriptural pre-Reformation heritage cannot be silenced; for the sake of our ecumenical responsibility we dare not tire of looking beyond the limits of our own confessions in order to learn something from the ecumenical church with respect to our understanding of the Scriptures" (p. 307).

LUTHER'S WORKS. *American Edition, Vol. 34. Career of the Reformer IV. Edited by Lewis W. Spitz. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960. 387 pp. \$5.00.*

This fourth and final volume on the career of the Reformer covers some of Luther's less known writings between the years 1530-1545. "Exhortation to All Clergy Assembled at Augsburg" (WA 3011, 1530) and "Commentary on the Alleged Imperial Edict" (WA 3011, 1531) are both related directly to the Diet of Augsburg. A second group of writings illustrate Luther as a university professor presiding over theological disputations: "Theses Concerning Faith and Law" (WA 391, 1535); "The Disputation Concerning Man" (WA 391, 1536); "The Disputation Concerning Justification" (WA 391, 1536); "The Licentiate Examination of Heinrich Schmedenstedt" (WA 3911, 1542).

A third group, consisting of "The Three Symbols" (WA 50, 1538), "Preface, Counsel of a Committee of Several Cardinals" (WA 50, 1538), "Preface, Galeatius Capella's History"

This highly-regarded dissertation by an American theologian of the Augustana Synod, Bernhard Erling, deals with the question of the scientific character of Christian theology. The author discusses the theological method which, under the title "Motif Research," was introduced and applied by Anders Nygren while the latter was professor in Lund. In the first place the author deals with Nygren's works on the philosophy of religion, which have only appeared in Swedish and thus have not figured in discussion outside of Sweden to the same degree as some of his other works. The author is not primarily concerned with merely describing Nygren's methodology; instead he seeks from a certain critical standpoint to develop it further and to bring it to completion, since he is convinced that motif research as a theological method is especially applicable in the present situation.

It is characteristic that the author to a certain extent ignores Nygren's own distinctions between nature and history. "Nature" for him covers those theoretical sciences in which scientific concepts are derived directly from causal categories, while "history" refers to the non-theoretical sciences which deal with a different type of subject-matter. The introduction gives a critical presentation of the Swedish discussion of Nygren's methodology. This is followed by the first and largest main section, which bears the title, "The Critical Theory of Experience." Following a discussion on the tasks of philosophy which is seen to consist of realms of experience not subject to critical analysis, the author turns to an analysis of the categories of causality in modern science wherein he deals with the problem of validity in ethics and religion in a manner very close to that of Nygren. Erling's view diverges from that of Nygren particularly in that he distinguishes less sharply than the latter between critical and descriptive ethics as well as in that he takes a more positive stand on the question of a more normative ethic. The second main section of this work, "The Interpretation of History," begins with a discussion of the relationship between critical analysis and description. Thereupon follows a more detailed description of motif research as a method which serves partly to interpret historical texts and partly the historical events to which these texts refer. Since a systematic presentation of the content of the Christian faith presupposes the interpretation of texts as well as of events, the method of motif

research (as the author concludes) is of great significance not only for the historian but also for the systematic theologian.

ALLER TAGE TAG. UNSERE ZEIT IM NEUEN TESTAMENT. (*The Day of All Days. Our Age in the New Testament.*) By Gerhard Gloege. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1960. 288 pp. DM 13.80.

Already in his book which appeared in 1952, *Mythology and Lutheranism. The Problem of De-Mythologisation in the Light of Lutheran Theology*, Gerhard Gloege, a Lutheran theologian well-known for his openness to modern questions, had, in direct opposition to Bultmann, suggested the "impossibility of surrendering the 'historical Jesus'" and had advocated a theology which would do justice to the full incarnation of the Word of God. In his new book on Jesus, which is written in a readily comprehensible manner, the author cites positive reasons in support of his position. His approach is marked on the one hand by full acceptance of the historical-critical method of biblical exegesis, and yet on the other hand he attempts to gain a reliable picture of the historical Jesus. This appears possible since the New Testament writings, although they themselves were not primarily intended as historical sources, nevertheless serve as such (p. 75). The significance of Jesus for the *Heilsgeschichte*, which Bultmann ascribes to the post-resurrection faith of the disciples, is here referred back to the historical Jesus, so that the relationship between the earthly Jesus and the exalted Christ may be described by the formula: "... the power of the earthly is the exalted, but the measure of the exalted is the earthly" (p. 114). On the basis of this the author, strongly influenced by Bonhoeffer's questionings, draws a rich and, for our generation, a very challenging picture of Him who is the dayspring of all our days (Summary p. 211: "Jesus as the elect one of God is he who believes. He forgets himself in God. He calls men to faith... Jesus as man's advocate is he who loves. He forgets himself in man. He calls men to love... Jesus as the world's assailant is he who hopes. He forgets himself in the world into which he flings his fire. He instils hope into men in the midst of doubt.") Of him who understood himself "as the elected Son of God, as the son of man and as the servant

of God" (p. 234) it is true that "when we break through to the historical Jesus we encounter God" (p. 213).

THE THOUGHT OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR. By Gordon Harland, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. 298 pp. \$6.00.

The content of this book is not quite as comprehensive as its title. Its subject matter is Reinhold Niebuhr's social ethics, organized around the concepts of love and justice. Niebuhr himself, of course, has asserted that he is primarily an ethicist, not a systematic theologian.

The first part of the book offers a definition of love and justice and the relationship between them in Niebuhr's thought. The background of these concepts is traced in his understanding of the self as finite freedom, and his view of the possibilities and limitations of history. In a chapter entitled "The Resources of Love for a Responsible Society," Harland lists as the specifically Christian dimensions of social action, according to Niebuhr, the following: humility, tolerance, a sense of irony, and "the nonchalance of faith."

In the second part, the author summarizes Niebuhr's views on major social problems, as expressed both in his books and in his innumerable articles in periodicals. Among the topics dealt with are the relations of Christian faith and ethics to democracy and to Communism; the problem of pacifism; economic theory; race relations; and the conduct of American foreign policy since the Second World War. Harland sets forth both the unity in Niebuhr's commentary over the years and the variations in certain of his views, most notably the change from socialism to economic pragmatism.

The author is a professor of church history on the theological faculty of Drew University.

LITURGISKA PERSPEKTIV (*Liturgical Perspectives.*) By Olle Herrlin. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1960. 240 pp.

The Dean of the Cathedral of Uppsala who is well-known for his works in the fields of philosophy and religion here offers "a few chapters on the worship-services of the church." The book was presented as a treatise at the synod of the clergy of the

diocese of Uppsala. In the first chapter the relationship between liturgy and the Holy Scriptures is dealt with, wherein the task of liturgy is defined as "bringing the Holy Scriptures to life." The second chapter deals with the Lord's Supper, with special emphasis on the fact that the sacramental presence in the Eucharist does not cancel out the symbolic function of the Lord's Supper. With regard to the relationship between liturgy and the Confession of Faith the worship-service is stressed as living doctrine (a critique by R. Guardini "Viewing the Liturgy as a Performance" is included here). The sociological nature of the congregation which celebrates the worship-service is also investigated here. The book concludes with a discussion of the relationship between liturgy and diaconal work and between worship and art. The somewhat disparate chapters of the book serve a common purpose, namely to call attention to the pastoral and saving power of the worship-service.

THE EUCHARIST AND LITURGICAL RENEWAL. Edited by Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. 146 pp. \$3.00.

It wasn't too long ago that Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. edited a series of essays entitled *The Liturgical Renewal* (Oxford). These essays, by one Lutheran and five Episcopalian clergymen, opened up a fresh vista on a modern ecclesiological phenomenon that deserves close scrutiny. Now comes a sequel which has a unity and consistency all its own—the Eucharist in all its manifold theological, social, and practical implications.

While the orientation is Anglican (save for Father Alexander Schmemann's paper on "The Liturgical Revival and the Orthodox Church"), the exposition eludes denominational particularity. The Lutheran reader will want to ponder long over Bishop Bayne's determination to deal head on with the concept of sacrifice as it relates to the Eucharist. Nor should the same author's evaluation of the Reformation and the resultant eucharistic doctrines, on both sides of the split, escape thoughtful consideration.

For those who persist in their cry that the liturgical movement is of interest only to antiquarians and esthetes, the other essays probe the relations between Eucharist and the Bible, education, economic and social implications and the ministry of the laity.

TAUFE UND KIRCHE IN IHREM
URSPRÜNGLICHEN ZUSAMMENHANG
(*The Original Relationship between Baptism
and the Church.*) By H. Mentz. Munich:
Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960. 112 pp. DM 8.00.

This study was presented as a dissertation to the *Kirchliche Hochschule* in Berlin. It is intended as a contribution to the contemporary discussion of the problems of baptism. The author takes as his starting-point neither a doctrine of baptism set forth in the New Testament nor a New Testament sacramental concept with respect to baptism. He begins rather with the causal relationship between baptism and *ecclesia* as it is found in the New Testament. The central approach of this study is found in the authors' concern for the correct relationship between originality and continuity in the concepts Baptism and *Ecclesia*. Since the New Testament statements on the *ecclesia* are not directly combined with its statements on baptism, he subjects the New Testament statements on baptism to thorough-going study. The author clearly shows that the baptism of Jesus is the point on which the New Testament kerygma of baptism pivots. Furthermore he attempts to show that the New Testament provides no basis for the concept of spiritual baptism. The author proposes that this concept be surrendered. The significance of Jesus' baptism for the proper relationship between baptism and *ecclesia* provides the point of departure for the concluding portion of this study. The author goes into the relationship between baptism and the *parousia* as well as into the significance of baptism as a cultic act. The baptismal act must be understood "not legally but existentially." The decisive theological concept, however, which already determines the baptismal kerygma of John the Baptist and, in the opinion of the author, also that of Luke, is the concept of repentance. But the New Testament demand for repentance is at the same time a demand which contains a promise. The baptismal law of the church is thus no juristic claim, but it bears the character of a "guarantee of salvation." Thus the author is definitely not opposed to the practice of infant baptism, even though he clearly states: "baptism need not be infant baptism." Here, in his opinion, lies the real problem of infant baptism. He proposes two solutions: a) infant baptism only in living congregations, b) the refusal of baptism or its postponement when those concerned view baptism merely as a "custom."

Practical Theology

DET SVENSKA ANTIFONALET II.
ANTIFONALE TILL KYRKARETS
TIDEBÖNER. (*The Swedish Antiphonary II.
Prayers for the Church Year.*) Edited by
Arthur Adell. Lund: Gleerups Förlag, 1959.
507 pp. Sw. Kr. 50.00.

Part II of the Swedish Antiphonary combines in one volume the Hours, with rich musical settings, for the festival days of the church year, for special feast days, as well as for the memorial to the dead. Furthermore the book begins with supplements to the general Hours and the *Te Deum*. The editorial technique and the format have not been changed from those of Part I, which was edited by Knut Peters himself in 1949. In his selection of lessons, psalms, responses, hymns and antiphones, the present editor has followed the tradition of the ancient church. In these two beautiful and useful volumes the Swedish Church now possesses a complete antiphonary for every day of the church. An index of the hymns, psalms and responses (with the psalm-tone indicated) at the end of the second volume allows one to select portions from both volumes. Thus A. Adell, who had already assisted K. Peters in preparing Part I (Hours for Sundays and Weekdays), has completed the work which was interrupted by the latter's death.

UNSER GOTTESDIENST. (*Our Worship Service.*) By Otto Dietz. Munich:
Claudius Verlag, 1959. 190 pp. DM 3.00.

This pocket book bears the sub-title, "Handbook for the Congregation." It is intended to explain to members of the congregation the course of the main worship-service according to the new Lutheran Agenda I and the purpose behind its order. The content and form of each liturgical portion is expounded for the congregation. The prayers which are included are intended to acquaint the congregation with some of those used in the worship-service, especially the collects, the prefaces, and the general prayer of the church.

LEKTIONSHANLEDNINGEN FÖR
KONFIRMANDUNDERVISNINGEN. (*A
Guide for Confirmation Instruction.*) By Stig

Hellsten, Helge Brattgård, Gustav Dahlbaeck. *Lund: Gleerups Förlag, 1959. 261 pp. Paper Sw. Kr. 20.00, Cloth 24.50.*

This guide is intended as a pedagogical, methodological handbook for pastors. Thirty of the lessons, which are not identical with those used in class instruction, are meant to show how to use Luther's Small Catechism. These are preceded by six lessons which give an introduction to the Bible, the worship-service, the church year and confirmation instruction. Every lesson begins with a "general orientation" and includes a systematic and methodological presentation of the content, a detailed sketch of a class-session and, under the title, "Visual Aids," suggested drawings and illustrations for blackboard use, and finally suggestions for carefully selected work for the students.

In the systematic sections the three authors adhere closely to Luther's interpretations and attempt to make these understandable and inspiring to the confirmands by means of modern pedagogical techniques. Consequently the Bible is used as a work-book. In the introductory chapter Stig Hellsten gives suggestions regarding practical and organizational problems which will help the pastor to conduct confirmation instruction less in the manner of a school-master and more in the manner of a pastoral counsellor.

TEXTBUCH FÜR PREDIGER. (*Text-book for Preachers.*) By Wilhelm Guembel. *Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1959. 246 pp. DM 9.50.*

This "Collection of Bible Passages for Use in Sermons and Occasional Meditations" is a basic revision of the book by Christian Römer from the year 1903. Certain sections were dropped and new texts added. The first part gives sermon texts according to the pericope of the Evangelical Church in Germany and the texts of "Bible readings according to the Church Year." It also includes texts for Sundays and Feast Days of an occasional character, such as Thanksgiving Day, Church Dedication Day, etc. The second section gives texts for the offices of the church, from baptism to Christian burial. Included also are texts for ordinations and dedications, even some for special events such as the dedication of church windows, etc. The individual sections are preceded by short introductions partly from Römer's preface,

partly from Guembel. The order for Bible readings according to the church year is taken from the book by R. Siecker, "Readings for the Church Year."

SPANNUNGSFELDER DER EVANGELISCHEN SOZIALLEHRE. (*Crucial Areas of Protestant Social Teaching.*) Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1960. 288 pp. DM 21.00.

The seventh volume of studies on Protestant social theology and social ethics, dedicated to H. D. Wendland on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, includes twenty-one essays from the field of social doctrine. The topics range from C. H. Ratschaw's essay on "The Question of the Meaning of Life" to terminological studies such as that by Chr. Bourbeck which attacks the use of the slogan "schizophrenia" in contemporary diagnosis and K. Janssen's essay on the "History of the Concept degeneration in youth work" which shows how this concept according to Wichern acquired more and more of a discriminating character so that it hindered the development of a preventive and protective youth work. W. Lottmann views psychology as misguided when, subsumed under the principle, "Psychological Management," it breaks through the boundaries, such as the inviolability of the individual, which it should respect as an auxiliary science to anthropology. Both K. H. Rengstorf, when he contrasts the biblical picture of the father of the household with the modern family which dispenses with the role of the father, and E. Kähler, when he studies the New Testament significance of marriage and celibacy in the light of the partnership between man and woman today, underscore the need for a New Testament orientation. H. van Oyen's study, "On Conscience," deals with the relationship between the "good conscience" in the New Testament and the concept of conscience in modern literature and philosophy. Additional essays supplement one another. Thus the Jesuit O. van Nell-Breuning seeks the reason behind the bewildering fact that in concrete cases both Protestant and Catholic social ethics, despite quite contradictory theological bases, are frequently in agreement. From the Protestant side H. Rössler's essay, "Possibilities for Mutual Social Work by Both Confessions," substantiates this thesis, although he says the unifying factor not in the social phenomena but in a basic view of

man common to both. E. Wolf's theological study, "Creative Discipleship," shows how the central New Testament concept, discipleship, was almost completely disregarded in the social ethics of Protestantism out of fear of an *imitatio* piety or the legalism of the enthusiasts. H. Dombois in "Contemporary Status of Protestant Doctrine of the State," W. Schweizer in "Gospel and Law in the Changing Order of Society," Chr. Walther in "Proclamation and Society," and T. Rendtorff in "History and Society" equally call for Christian action in relation to state and society which is responsible, free of ideological tendencies and consistent in its aims. H. Thielecke's "Study of the Atheism Problem" presents the systematic minutes of a German study commission whose task it was to investigate the extent to which it is possible to cooperate in the socialist program under atheistic auspices. H. Gollwitzer's essay, "The Soviet System and the Christian Church" reads something like an historical paradigm to the more fundamental statements of Thielecke. "The church as an institution and association" is the title of the essay in which H. H. Schrey shows how sociological factors in the development of various church types often lead to a one-sided interpretation of the New Testament. K. von Bismarck emphatically shows that "The Laity in Church and Society" stand in danger of being sacrificed to the bureaucracy of the church, or, contrariwise, of falling victim to the separative influence of secularism. The irreplaceability of personal "Partnership in an Organizational Society" is illustrated by D. van Oppen's essay. That one must have experience in agricultural matters in order to level a just critique is shown by the economist S. Wendt. He traces the "Influence of Money on the Business Ethos" and makes clear that a sound monetary system is an indispensable presupposition for a stable economy. This collection of essays concludes with F. Karrenberg's statements on "The Function and Limits of Critique." Not only the foreword and the bibliography of the works of Heinz-Dietrich Wendland but also the many references to the same contribute to the success of this book.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN AFRICA. By Bengt Sundkler. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1960. 346 pp. Price: Sw. Kr. 30; bound: Sw. Kr. 35.

The author, Professor of Missiology at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, has based this book on material which he collected through personal interviews made during the course of several trips to Africa and through correspondence questionnaires. He deals with the ministry in Africa, south of the Sahara, vividly presenting the problems involved. After referring to the specific ways in which African men feel themselves called to the ministry, he deals with the problem of indigenous pastors. Here he points out especially the concept which arose during the twenties that a ministry should be well-rooted in African society. Later the Latin ideal of leadership prevailed, according to which it was the function of the elite to inform the masses. The later theory, based on confidence in the African, created a new climate which made it possible for responsible African church leadership to develop.

Two chapters deal with the relation of the pastor to the leaders of African society (the chiefs, the teachers, the educated elite, etc.) and with the pastor as he carries on his work with his (voluntary) co-workers in the congregation. One-third of the book deals with theological education and the problem of developing an African theology. Here the author stresses the point that no alternative exists between putting the emphasis on intellectual training or on worship and character training. Both must be carried on in the African setting. Concerning the language medium for theological education, he represents the balanced concept in which both African and European languages assume an equal importance. Without pleading for any special form of spiritual life, the author points out that there is a far greater understanding of the sacramental essence of the Church in African thought than is usually admitted. The representative idea of leadership in society points also in the direction of a special African understanding of the ministry.

STEWARDSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY. Edited by T. K. Thompson. New York: Association Press, 1960. 252 pp. \$3.50.

Bishop Hanns Lilje of Germany wrote in the *Lutheran World*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 3, "Our systematic theologians must show us how the theology of justification by faith is completed in the practical sphere by a theology

of Stewardship." *STEWARDSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY* is a symposium designed to meet this challenge by nine scholars ranging from biblical and historical fields to systematics and social ethics. This book is a theological study, not a discussion of promotion or techniques in stewardship.

The first four chapters deal with the history of stewardship and tithing in Old and New Testament periods and in the life of the church. The fifth chapter is a pivotal point in the book which examines the meaning of stewardship and tithing for the twentieth century in the light of Scripture and Christian history. The last four chapters deal with a doctrinal statement of the place of stewardship in Christian vocation in general and in the affluent society of our present decade in particular.

The dominant single theme which all contributing authors agree upon is that stewardship must flow from the grace of God as a fruit of faith. Dividing the tithe must never be motivated legalistically for tribute, obligation, or merit, but rather the new life in Christ produces a new kind of conduct which Paul expressed in the paradox of "having and not having."

SVENSKA KYRKANS EKUMENISKA ANSVAR. (*The Ecumenical Responsibility of the Church of Sweden.*) By Gustaf Wingren. Lund: CWK Gleerups Bokförlag, 1959. 55 pp. Sw. Kr. 3.60.

The author begins with the fact that the Church of Sweden co-exists in a society with other churches, each of which has its own idea as to what constitutes the unity of the church. All of these churches find in the Swedish Church that which they each regard as basic for the unity of the church: the Anglicans, the historical episcopacy; the strict Lutherans, the Lutheran Confessional Statements; and the Swedish Free Churches, the personal faith which in their opinion constitutes the true church. The ecumenical responsibility of the Church of Sweden is pre-supposed by its very situation. It must keep the doors open to three sides, even though the Swedish Church itself does not regard these three factors, which are so fundamental to the other churches, as constituting church unity. Its own standpoint is given in the Augsburg Confession VII, where it is stated that neither a certain form of ministry nor a certain confessional statement nor a certain religious experience, but only the proclamation of the Gospel and the proper administration of the sacraments are necessary for the true unity of the church. Were the Swedish Church to accept one of the three standpoints cited above, it would mean that doors would be closed which are now open to fellowship. In conclusion the author lists a number of tasks which, in his opinion, determine the ecumenical responsibility of the Swedish Church both within and without.

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